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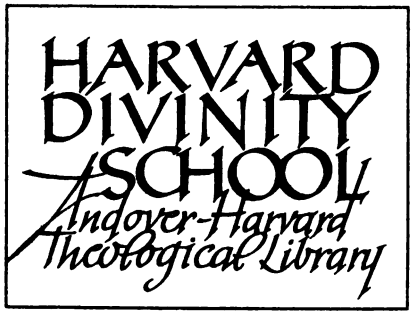
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Sarah Tuckerman.

(1)

A WORD TO

Fathers and Mothers.

PARENTS, will you permit a friend, who is himself a parent, to speak to you of your children? I would address to you a few inquiries, each of which I beg of you deliberately to answer. I would offer to you a few considerations, to each of which I beg for your solemn attention. My object alone is, your own, and the virtue and happiness of the rising generation. And can you refuse to hear me, but for two or three minutes, on a subject which most nearly concerns your own, and the best interests of your children, both here and hereafter?

I ask, then, first, *Have you children, who are between 4 and 7 years old, who are not sent to school?* If you have, why are not these children enjoying the great advantages of our Primary Schools? Are you aware, that our city is paying yearly, for the support of these schools, not less than thirteen thousand five hundred dollars; and that *all* the children, even of the poorest parents, may have the benefit of their instructions? Have you reflected, that if your child, or your children, shall lose the opportunity which these schools offer for his, or their early instruction, this child, or these children, will be disqualified to enter our Grammar Schools; and that they will thus be exposed, between the ages of 7 and 14 years, to all the mischiefs and the miseries of idleness; to all the evils which arise from keeping company with the ignorant, idle and vicious boys; to profaneness, to intemperance, to dishonesty, and to preparation for the *House of Correction*, and the *State Prison?*— Parents, these are solemn thoughts; and, let me tell you, they are not mere possibilities. They are *realities.* If you suffer your children, who are between the ages of 4 and 7 years, to lose the opportunities which are offered to them in our Primary Schools, these children

will probably, and almost certainly, be the early victims of vice and crime. They will almost certainly be vagabonds, drunkards, thieves. They will live disgraced, and when they die, go to the judgment seat of heaven in all the pollution of their sins. And for these sins, brought upon your children by your own negligence,—by your failure to do your duty towards them, will you not have a most solemn and awful account to render to your God?

I ask, secondly, *Have you children who are between 7 and 14 years old, who are not in a Grammar School, or who are not in any school?* I appeal to your conscience, why are they not at school? I know that one parent will reply, 'I cannot give my child clothes which are decent for a school;' and another, 'I need the assistance of my child, and I cannot spare him. I must keep him from school, that he may collect chips, without which I cannot have a fire;' or, 'He is a serving boy in the market, (a dangerous place it is,) and without the little money which he brings home to me, I could not have bread for him, or for myself;' or, 'I send him to school, but he *will not go.*' These are the excuses which I have too often heard from the thoughtless and negligent parents, whose idle and vicious children, I meet in the streets, and see training there for crime, for disgrace, for a wretched life, and a miserable death. Parents, I do not speak harshly, when I thus speak to you of these children. I know full well, that poor parents have much to do, and much to bear, in the work of rearing their children. But I know too, that there are parents who are as poor as you are, and, who have to struggle quite as hard as you are struggling for a living, who yet faithfully keep their children at school. Ay, and I know also poor parents, very poor parents, who find it very difficult to obtain bread for their children, who yet oblige their children to come directly *home* from school, instead of stopping in the streets, and becoming the companions of bad boys there. And will not these parents have their reward, in the future character and condition of their children? Yes. A few years only will pass over them, and these parents will have the inexpressible satisfaction to see their children respecta-

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bly placed as apprentices. And in a few more years, these children will be *masters* in the trades they will have learned, and will be the support, and crown, and joy of their parents' old age. And where, then, will be your children, and what will they be, if they are allowed to lose the precious opportunity which they now have for early instruction? I pray you, Parents, to pause, and to reflect. Is it not better that you should go from door to door to beg for clothes for your children, and for bread for them and for yourselves, than that they should lose the precious opportunity which they now have for instruction; and which, if lost, can never be recovered? Will you sell your children, body and soul, for the little which they can earn for you in those hours, when they ought to be getting the knowledge, without which they will soon be utterly *lost?* Great will be the guilt that will rest upon your soul, if your children shall be thus lost through your negligence, or your vice. The means for their instruction are provided. The school is near you, where they may be taught, if you will send them to it, and keep them in it. If you have not books, or decent clothes for them, and cannot otherwise provide them with books or clothes, then make known your wants to the rich and the benevolent. Let it be seen, and understood, that you feel as a parent should feel for your children, and that you *must* have them instructed, and God will raise up to you friends, who will enable you to fulfill your parental duties. If your child is obstinately disobedient, and is beyond your control, and *will not* go to school, take him to the Police Office, and pray for the privilege of his admission into the school for *Juvenile Delinquents.* You may thus save your conscience; and not alone the character and virtue, but the souls of your children.

Thirdly. *Have you a child between the ages of* 14 *and* 21, *who is without a regular employment?* Look at that child, and say, what is his condition? With his present dispositions, and the habits which he is every day and hour forming and confirming, what may be your hopes concerning him? Let me ask you, affectionately, but plainly, is he not in the way to *destruction?* Have you not every thing to fear concerning him? And why is

he not in some regular employment? Why is he not an apprentice, or upon a farm, or in some course of useful labor? Is not your soul chargeable with the misery of his present condition; with the fruit of his present conduct; with the sins and miseries to which idleness, intemperance, and dishonesty, if not immediately corrected, will bring him? Give not sleep to your eyes, till you have begun the work of his salvation. Allow not rest to your soul, till you have done all that you can do, to place him in a condition, and to fix him in an employment, which promises at least, with God's blessing, that he may be useful, virtuous and happy.

Parents, a most momentous responsibility rests upon us. God intrusts our children to us, that they may be reared, and instructed, by our care, and our exertions for them. Let us not attempt to throw off our responsibility for them, for God will require it of us. In our free government, the children of the poorest may rise to the highest stations of wealth, honor, trust and usefulness. Let not one of your children, then, between the ages of 4 and 21, be from school, or without a regular employment. Make any sacrifice, but of virtue, and encounter any sufferings, rather than be the instruments of their ignorance, their vice, and their ruin. There are many who will help you, if you need, and seek, their help; and God will help those, who are faithful to themselves, and to his will. But if you permit your child, or your children, with the opportunities which you have in this city, to grow up untaught, and ignorant, and vicious, you will be partakers of their guilt, and sharers of their awful condemnation.

A PARENT.

NOTE. It may be well to inform Parents, who have children between 7 and 14 years of age, but who have not received the instruction which is required for admission to our Grammar Schools, that there is a School in *Scotts' Court*, in Union Street, where such children may be sent; and where, without any expense to the Parents, these children will be taught, and prepared to enter a Grammar School. It is earnestly desired, that such children may sent to this school, and that they be sent there as soon as is possible.

(2)

MR. TUCKERMAN'S

FIRST QUARTERLY REPORT,

ADDRESSED TO THE

American Unitarian Association.

BOSTON,

BOWLES AND DEARBORN, 72 WASHINGTON STREET.

Isaac R. Butts & Co. Printers.

1827.

REPORT.

To

The Executive Committee of the

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN,

I entered upon the duties of the mission, among the poor of this city, to which you appointed me, on the 5th of last November; and I have thought it to be proper, in this service, not to visit in any family, which is visited by any settled minister of the city as a part of his flock.

Within the past three months, I have taken fifty families into my pastoral charge. A few of them have lived in the city but six, or twelve months. Some, however, who have been here many years, and others who were born in the city, are kept from connexion with our religious societies by their poverty. They cannot afford to hire seats in our churches. Some, too, by the frequency of their removals, are now in the neighborhood of one, and now of another, of the churches in the city, on whose services they occasionally attend. The intellectual, moral, and religious character of some whom I visit, is very highly respectable. But the exposures of great poverty are very affecting. Among the very poor, I am afraid that there is not much more of the genuine spirit of our religion, than among the very rich. The rooms in which

but intelligent, most amiable and pious woman, I never heard from her any of the technical language of a sectarian. We were soon friends; and I shall never forget the emotion with which, a short time before she expired, she said, "I bless God, who has sent you to me, to enlighten my way through the dark valley of the shadow of death." If no other circumstance to cheer and strengthen me should occur in the year of service on which I have entered, than the privilege of ministering to this poor widow, I shall be well compensated for all the toils to which it may call me.

I may tell you, likewise, that, on the 27th of November, I was called to visit a man who was confined to his bed by a fever. I was pleased with the neatness and order which appeared in his family. But this man had thought little of religion, and had lived without prayer. Before he left his sick bed, I have reason to think that he offered the prayers of penitence, of gratitude, and of hope; and, since his recovery, he has uniformly read prayers in his family, morning and evening. I have the assurance of this man, and of his wife, that they will faithfully maintain this practice.

On sabbath evening, the 3d of December, by the assistance which I received from an association of private Christians, with which I am connected in the city, I was enabled to begin a course of religious services in the upper chamber of the circular building at the bottom of Portland-street. These services have been continued from that time to the present; and as a lease of the room is taken for a year, I shall probably continue to preach there on the evenings of the sabbath. In these services,

which are very well attended, I have the aid of several of the gentlemen of the above named association. A Sunday School was begun in my lecture room on the 10th of December; and the children of many families which I visit, as well as of other families, are very faithfully taught there.

I have occasionally preached both to the men, and to the women, in the House of Correction. On the 27th of December, I visited Colson, who was executed on the 1st instant for piracy and murder. From the time of my first visit, I was in the cell with him every day; and this too is a part of my service, for which I think that I have much cause to bless God. I found this man terribly profane and wicked. But I soon found that he had not lost every element of moral feeling. After the visits of a few days, I observed that he fell upon his knees when I was about to pray with him. Some time after this, he began to respond the *amen* at the close of our prayers. And at last, such was the strength of his emotions, that while I was praying with him, he has broken out in an importunity of supplication, the most heart-rending which I have ever heard from the lips of man. In addition to my daily visits to his cell, I passed with him the evening previous to his death; and I was with him on the next morning, till a few minutes before the time when he was led out to be executed. I had said and done all that I could say or do, to affect, and to direct his mind; and feeling, as I did, that my duty towards him was done, I left him. He died, as I am told, in the manner in which I hoped that he would die; with the prayer in his heart, and upon his lips, *God be merciful to me a sinner!*

You ask me, how much time and exertion my services require? I answer, that I give to them all my time, and all my strength. Most of those whom I now visit live at the north part of the town. But I also visit families in the eastern, western, and southern sections of the city; and not a week passes, in which I am not extending my charge. Two more missionaries, within three months, might find duty enough to fill up every waking hour.

It may not be amiss to add, that I have numbered two hundred and eighty-three visits made to the people of my charge. Besides these, however, I have been into many families, of whom I learned that they regularly worship with some one of our religious societies, and whom, therefore, I visited no more. Nor do I include in this number of visits, those which I made to Colson, in prison; nor those which I have made in the house of correction.

With great respect,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, February, 5th, 1827.

(3)

MR. TUCKERMAN'S

SECOND QUARTERLY REPORT,

ADDRESSED TO THE

American Unitarian Association.

BOSTON,
BOWLES AND DEARBORN, 72, WASHINGTON STREET.

Isaac R. Butts and Co. Printers.
1827.

REPORT.

To

The Executive Committee of the

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN,

Within the past six months I have been connected, as a Christian minister, with more than a hundred families. Some of these families have been broken up, and others have removed where I have not been able to find them. But I have still more than ninety in my charge; and, within the last three months, I have made a little over five hundred visits.

You will readily believe, that it would be very easy to give you a long report of what I have seen and heard in these visits, and a long detail of what I have said, and hoped, and feared. Should I ever find time to write upon these subjects, I may perhaps bring them in some form, before the public. But general statements are all that you will expect from me.

Among the families which I visit as their pastor, there are some which not only are not poor, but whose circumstances, in respect to property, are very comfortable; and I have great pleasure in telling you, that they cooperate with me, as they have opportunity, in my plans and efforts for the relief and improvement of the poor. I am connected with some families of this class, which would be a blessing to any community.

Another class of those whom I visit consists of families, which, from various causes, have not been able to accumulate property. There are widows, and there are

some husbands, who can provide for their families, and who maintain order, and find happiness, in their families, while they all have health, and while they can find regular employment. But in a long failure of the employment on which they depend for their support, or in a long sickness, the little that was laid up is exhausted; and, if they are not relieved by private bounty, they must incur debts, which weigh down the spirits, and produce feelings of discouragement and misery, for relief from which they resort to *intemperance*. I have cause to believe that, through the kindness of those who have supplied my poors' purse, I have been enabled to do important good among this class of my new friends, by administering to their relief in the time when relief was most wanted. And I am sure that this is a charity, on which, if they witness it, angels may smile with heavenly complacency. I think that I have witnessed aspirations of as pure a gratitude, for a small bestowment, which, however, at the time was greatly wanted, as often ascends to heaven. Even a little which is so given, by saving him or her who receives it from the discouragements of debt, may save them also from intemperance, from pauperism, and from ruin.

I have much wished to do something for the recovery of the intemperate. But I have been still more solicitous to do what may be done, to save those from intemperance, who are constantly exposed to it; and of whom indeed we may well marvel, if they become not its victims. I wish always to act upon the principle, that human nature is never to be given up; that there is no condition of the vicious so desperate, as to forbid efforts for their recovery. I have therefore no sympathy with those who say to us, "let the confirmed drunkard perish." While he lives, he is not without the pale of God's mercy,

for it is this mercy that sustains him, even while he so wickedly abuses it. But I believe that very much may be done by frequent intercourse, by faithful conversation, and by well selected tracts, to restrain from this desolating sin. In this department of my service, I have reason to hope that I have not altogether labored in vain.

I visit in a few very vicious, and very corrupted families. Whether I am thus doing any immediate good, is indeed very doubtful. But the time of sickness, or of some other great affliction, may come to them, when they may be in a condition to receive impressions, of which they are now unsusceptible; and I shall be well repaid for the sacrifices that are required in maintaining an acquaintance with them, if I may then be an instrument of bringing them to repentance and to God.

I have spoken of the frequency of the removals of some whom I visit. There are families which, I believe, are never more than a few months in a place. They are compelled to remove by inability to pay their rent; and, to escape from the little debts which they have contracted in the neighborhood in which, for a short time, they have been located. They go to no church; and they are known by no minister, unless indeed a missionary steps in to visit them. And yet these are not always very vicious families. The husband of this class, or the widowed mother, or the mother who is forsaken by her husband, is thriftless, inefficient, and not entirely temperate; but yet not confirmed in any of the grosser vices. Here, then, I think the service of a missionary to be greatly useful. He does what he can to animate and encourage these parents to better efforts than they have yet made for themselves, and their families. He takes care that their children are kept at school. He gives to them in his conversation,

and in the tracts which he leaves with them, all the religious instruction they receive. Without his care, they would be beyond the reach of any of the direct influences of our religion.

Let me say a word of the moral exposures of the poor, for they are indeed hardly to be conceived but by those who are intimately acquainted with the poor. We must go into the rooms in which they live, and see how they live, and what they suffer there, to feel as we should feel for them, and to realize the extent and the strength of their claims upon us. Take the case of a mother, whose intemperate husband is daily spending his small earnings to obtain the rum which he drinks daily; who is herself working like a slave, when she can get work, to procure bread for her children; whose ragged children are not only every day so treated by their father, that they lose, as far as children can lose, all affection for him, but who are at once the daily witnesses of his profaneness and degradation, and who are even daily encouraged by him to disobey their mother; I say, what are you to look for in these children, but that they will be as vicious and debased as their father? I can take you from house to house into families of this description. Or, suppose the case of an intemperate mother, or where both parents are intemperate. Rum is here the chief ingredient of breakfast, of dinner, and of supper. Is it wonderful, then, that there should be not a few among us, who are drunkards at the age of 14 or 15 years? Or, does it excite any surprise, that children who are reared under such influences, *will not* go to school? At 9 or 10 years of age they are wholly beyond parental control. Their *home* is in the streets; and they go to the habitations of their parents, only to obtain a supply of the wants which they

cannot supply elsewhere. It is a matter of course, therefore, that they should not only be intemperate, but profane, deceitful and dishonest. No plan could be devised for their moral ruin, more certain in its results, than the very manner in which they are now living. Will any one say, that this is a necessary evil? I cannot think so. The obligation is most solemn upon those to whom God has given the means of rescuing these young immortals from perdition, to attempt at least what may be attempted for their rescue. These children are now in a regular course of training for the House of Correction, and for the State Prison. My heart has ached to see a mother, and to hear her sobs of anguish, at the House of Correction, while she was visiting her son there, who was only 14 years old; and to see this boy, after weeping for a few moments with his agonized mother, return to be a companion of convicts, with five or six of whom he must be shut up at night in a cell, where he may learn more of the mysteries of iniquity in eight nights, than he would acquire in as many years by his own unaided experience. Government has a right to employ any means that are requisite for the prevention of so great an evil; and a power should be delegated to men who will faithfully exercise it, of taking children who are so exposed from the condition in which they now are, and of placing them, as far as may be, beyond the reach of the temptations, which otherwise will inevitably prove their destruction. I am aware that the difficulties of the case are great. But they are not insuperable.—I suggest the subject, only because I wish that attention may be directed to it.

For some weeks past, either on Thursday or Saturday afternoon, I have met the children who live in the neigh-

borhood of my Lecture Room, to pass an hour there. The time so passed we call *the pleasant hour*. It is opened and closed with a very short prayer, and religious instruction is one of the objects of the meeting. But this instruction is given rather incidentally, than directly. I give them familiar lectures upon subjects of natural history; and I begin each exercise by questions respecting the preceding lecture. The service is popular among the children; and I hope that it will be a means of exciting in them a thirst of knowledge, a taste at once for intellectual and moral gratification, and an early reverence and love of Him, of whose wisdom and goodness I am thus enabled to furnish them with so many testimonies in his works.

The Sunday evening services of the Lecture Room are continued, and the room is uniformly well filled with attentive hearers. I wish that it was possible to obtain a permanent free lecture room in the section of the city in which I now officiate on Sunday evenings. This might be done at a small cost compared with the good that might be looked for from it. Our present room is not large enough to accommodate all who are disposed to unite with us. Besides, some aged people find it difficult, in the evening, to ascend two flights of stairs. If we could obtain a cheap building as a permanent place of worship, I think that it would not be difficult to obtain a supply of the pulpit half of each Sunday, as well as for the evening service. Is there no one among us who is at once able, and who so loves the poor, that he is willing *to build for them a synagogue?*

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, May 5th, 1827.

(4)

MR. TUCKERMAN'S

THIRD QUARTERLY REPORT,

ADDRESSED TO THE

American Unitarian Association.

BOSTON,
BOWLES AND DEARBORN, 72 WASHINGTON STREET.

Isaac R. Butts & Co. Printers.
1827.

REPORT.

To

The Executive Committee of the

American Unitarian Association.

Gentlemen,

During my third quarter, which ends tomorrow, the services of my lecture room have been continued on Sunday evenings, and have been well attended. I have reason to believe that these services have been productive of good; and that some at least of those who have joined in them, have been made wiser and better, in regard to the things both of their present, and their eternal peace.

"The pleasant hour" of Thursday afternoon has been given to a course of lectures upon natural history. These lectures have been attended by about a hundred children, the greater part of whom are boys from 10 to 14 years of age. I have only to say of this service, that I have been repeatedly requested by the children who come to it, to give a lecture also on the afternoons of Saturday.

Much of my time, for the last three months, has been devoted to the work of curing intemperance; and as I wish to address to you a few remarks upon this subject, which I should be glad to have published, I will omit other topics in this report.

I need not say that there has recently been, and that there still is, a very extraordinary excitement of the public mind on the subject of intemperance. Very much has lately been said, and written, of the evils which in-

temperance brings to the individual who is guilty of it, to his family, and to society; and, to deter from it as many as is possible, almost every conceivable means has been adopted of enlightening the understanding in regard to its causes, its effects, and its prevention. The poet has left the fair and beautiful regions of fancy, where he had no other association with appetite than of the fruits of the Hesperides, the fountains of Helicon and the nectar of the gods, that he might speak plainly of *drunkenness*; and dissuade men from reducing themselves as much below the irrational creation, as it was the design of God, in their intellectual and moral powers, to exalt our nature above that of the brutes. The speculating politician has laid aside his theories, that he might reason of the alarming facts, which are threatening our most important institutions; and the plodding scholar pauses in his researches, that he may look to the extent of this enormous abuse, and contribute his share to the work of its correction. The physician, in the public assembly, as well as from house to house, raises his admonitory voice, and is importunate in his persuasions to all who will hear him, to abstain from the first step in this downward way to destruction; and the divine avails himself again, and again, and again, of that most favourable hour in the life of man to receive convictions of sin, to exercise contrition before God, and to arm the soul with holy purposes for the time to come,—the hour consecrated to public prayer and religious instruction,—that he may awaken the sleeping, or soften the obdurate conscience of the intemperate; that he may give an impression of the guilt and danger of this evil, never to be lost from the mind; and by his warnings, his entreaties, his encouragements, and his appeals to the highest hopes and the strongest fears of the

soul, if it be possible, by any or all of these means, to save some. And all these means have, I trust, conduced to good, and are still doing good. But the confirmed drunkard is not so to be recovered. The inordinate desire for ardent spirits, though in certain aspects of it a moral evil, and the fruitful parent of many sins, is yet to be traced back as well to physical, as to moral causes; and, while it produces disease, it is itself strengthened, and continually more and more established, by the very disease which it has occasioned. It is therefore to be treated as a physical, as well as a moral evil; and, till it is so considered and treated, I do not believe that much will be done in the work of arresting intemperance.

The free use of ardent spirits produces a diseased state of the stomach, accompanied by a morbid thirst; and, I believe that this diseased state of the stomach is as curable as is that which is called dyspepsia. It is for a time often so cured in the intemperate, by powerful medicinal agents, without any purpose of indisposing them to resort again to the poison, by which the disease was occasioned. In these cases, the cure is effected by combining medicine with other substances than alcohol, and therefore without producing aversion from alcohol. Now the object in giving medicated ardent spirits to the intemperate is, at once to restore health, and to produce *a disgust of ardent spirits;* and a disgust of them may be produced, by combining them with powerful medicinal agents, as a disgust of any other liquor may be produced, by mixing it with a medicine, which is itself very disgusting to the taste. There is therefore neither mystery nor quackery in this business. I have known a gentleman who could not for ten years bring himself to drink milk, from having taken with

it a very disgusting medicine. If, then, the intemperate may be so recovered, should not public sympathy be awakened in the cause of their recovery? An individual, or a few individuals, cannot do what should be done in this work. The whole moral sentiment of the community should be united in it. I have a few cases to state, which I think are interesting. I cannot however publish names. But if any one wishes for further information concerning them, either that he may himself be cured, or that he may attempt to cure others, I will go with him to either, or to all the persons referred to, that he may receive their testimony from their own lips.

A. B.—I became acquainted with the family of Mr. B. in the last winter. His wife was then confined to her bed by sickness, and was receiving aid from the Howard Benevolent Society. Mr. B. is a mechanic. But when I first knew him, he was not only without employment, but without tools to work with. Near the end of last May I persuaded him to go through with a course of medicated spirits. He took them, I think, for about ten days; and since that time, I *know* that he has drank no ardent spirits. Through the kindness of some friends, which he obtained in consequence of having taken this medicine, he was supplied with a set of tools; and he has since been, and now is, working at his trade in a neighbouring town; and returns to a happy home on Saturday night, which he leaves on Monday morning to resume his work. His wife was also enabled, by one or two benevolent individuals, to stock a small milliner's shop, and is now doing very well as a milliner and mantua maker. They are now paying off the small debts which were contracted during the time of their poverty; and, should they continue to be blessed with health, instead of being depend-

ent on charity, they will probably, in the next winter, have something to spare for those, who may be as poor as they were three months ago.—A friend of this man a short time since said to him, "B. if you were now as fond of ardent spirits as you were three months ago, and had $10,000, and could be brought to be as you now are only by the payment of a good round sum, how much would you give?" Immediately, and with great earnestness of feeling he answered, "The whole!"

B. C. is a mechanic; very capable in his business, and a very amiable man. But his love of ardent spirits seemed to be inveterate. He was fully conscious of the sin and misery of his manner of living; and, unsolicited by any one, he applied to me for the means of being cured. This was about the middle of June. He now drinks only water and small beer, and is happier than he has been at any former period of his life. I asked him, very lately, if he felt any disposition to take ardent spirits? He answered, "None. I would not drink a glass for twenty dollars."

C. D. is also a mechanic. He went through a course of medicated spirits in June. A disgust of them was not produced, and he readily consented to begin a second course. This was in a short time effectual, and he is cured. At the time of beginning to take the medicine, his health was very much reduced by his previous habits. He has since recovered his strength; and no one who should now see him at his work, would suspect that he had been intemperate.

D. E. began to take the medicated liquor on the sam day with C. D. He was cured by the first course. I is a young man, and is unmarried. When I first kne him, his hands trembled so much, that I should ha

thought him to have been hardly capable of any service; and especially of the delicate work, which belongs to the business in which he is engaged. But I have since had the pleasure to see him at his work with a steady hand; and, I believe, with a very grateful heart for the change that has been effected in him. He has lately removed to a neighbouring state, where I have a strong confidence that he will do well.

E. F. is a young mechanic. He came to me in a very reduced state of health, to ask for the medicine. He took it, and has been for some weeks cured. He is now, comparatively, a strong man. He says that he is now "remarkably well," and that he "feels like a new man."

F. G. is the son of an aged, very infirm and very pious mother, who wanted nothing so much to bring her to a perfect resignation in the prospect of death, as the recovery of her child from intemperance. He is recovered, and the venerable mother is happy.

H. I. freely confessed to me that he had no power to resist the demands of his appetite. It seemed indispensable that he should be separated from his family. He is now perfectly temperate, and is a happy husband and father. I have known him, since his recovery, to be exposed to as great a temptation as he could probably have been called to resist; and I am certain that he took no ardent spirits, and I believe that he had no desire for any. He is now regularly pursuing a business, which will give a comfortable support to his family.

I. J. went through a course of medicated spirits in the beginning of June, and is now a temperate man.

J. K. was a very intemperate, and a very unhappy man. But, for three months past, I think that he has

not tasted ardent spirits. His employer assures me that he is a remarkably changed man, and is earning $ 10 per week.

K. L. has been more recently cured; but he feels assured that the cure is complete. He is going into the country, and is very desirous to take with him the means of restoring others.

L. M. was every day intoxicated for several weeks before taking the medicated spirits; and at the time of beginning to take them, was in a very reduced and wretched condition. This person has not tasted ardent spirits for the three last months, and is now well and happy.

There are other cases, of which I think that I could speak with equal confidence; and there are some now under my care, of whose recovery I feel no doubt. But, I shall be told, that there are also cases, in which the attempt to cure intemperance by medicated spirits has utterly failed. I admit the fact. There are three or four cases of failure among those to whom I have administered the medicine; and there are three others, of which I am not prepared to give an opinion, though I have a strong ground of hope concerning them. Of these cases of failure, however, it must be said, that if a recovery had been effected, the rescue would have been equal to that which is ever obtained in any stage of any disease. In one of the cases of cure which I have mentioned, the individual had been a drinker of ardent spirits for twenty years. But both his mind and body were far less shattered than were those of the persons on whom the medicine has failed. When the whole system is so diseased as it is often found to be in the intemperate, the work of their recovery, if attempted, should be in the hands of a physician.

Is it asked, "how long are these cures to last?" I answer, I cannot tell. But I am sure that there are cases of three months standing, in which the cure seems so far to be complete. And is the recovery of an intemperate man or woman, even for three months, nothing? If happiness, for three months, is restored to an intemperate man's family and relations,—and these are all to be taken into the account, in estimating the amount of good produced;—but, above all, if one who has been intemperate, is for three months brought into a state to be affected by religious and moral considerations; into a state in which he can think, and converse, and live as a rational and immortal being should think, and converse, and live, is not the time that is so redeemed from sin and misery worth the effort, that is required for its redemption? While a man is intemperate, he is generally a very bad man in all the relations of life. He is neither faithful to his Maker, nor his fellow creatures. He is neither fit to live, nor to die. Nor can he be a good man, till he is recovered from his intemperance. But if recovered for three, or for six months, may not much be done within this time to strengthen religious principles in his heart; to improve his character; and to prepare him, as he has never before been prepared, to resist, and to overcome temptation?

That the preparations given to excite a disgust of ardent spirits sometimes fail of their object; and that different, and stronger means are necessary for this purpose in one than in another, surely is not strange. What is the medicine which does not sometimes fail to accomplish its design? What is the prescription, that would maintain its ground in a physician's mind, if success, in every instance of its application, is required to establish

its character? It is as unquestionable, that at least a temporary cure of the love of ardent spirits may, in many cases, be effected, as it is that what is called typhus fever may in many cases be cured. And, I ask, what is the disease which the faculty would attempt to cure, if it were thought idle to attempt to cure any, which might not in all cases be cured?

It is also made an objection to the use of medicine for this purpose, that even where it produces a disgust of the liquor in which it is taken, the appetite is as strong as ever for other intoxicating liquors. This is not exactly true. I have been told by several, who have taken it only in one liquor, that they have wholly lost the unnatural thirst which before tormented them; the "hankering" which they felt, while they were accustomed to drink ardent spirits. Besides, the intemperate have sometimes so strong a preference for one kind of ardent spirits, that they have little or no relish for any other. This preference is so strong, that there are many, who cannot afford to purchase as much even of the cheapest of these spirits, as they are accustomed to drink, who will yet daily embarrass themselves with debt, that they may obtain their poison in the form in which they love it. And a confirmed drunkard *will have* his intoxicating draught, though a poor, hard labouring wife, and hungry children are crying around him, and are begging for the bread of which his intemperance deprives them. But, suppose that a man, in whom appetite is so strong, and the moral feeling is so weak and debased, after being disgusted with one form of alcohol, should resort to another. And suppose too,—which is indeed true,—that some who have been cured of all desire of ardent spirits in any form, should intoxicate themselves

with cider, and strong beer. What is to be done in these cases? I answer, that every form of alcohol, and every intoxicating liquor which the patient is disposed to take, must be medicated. There are cases in which the cure of a love of all intoxicating liquors has been found to be a very simple work. And there are also cases,—and was not this to have been expected?—in which it is a long, and a very difficult work. But is not the object worth the labour required for it? If a drunkard can be thoroughly cured, by all the medical preparations that can be administered to him through a confinement of three months to his bed, the cure, with respect both to his body and his soul, is very cheaply purchased.

The intemperate *love* of ardent spirits is indeed an affection of the mind. It therefore may be, and in a few cases has been, overcome by a strong and persevering action of the mind. The resolution to deny the appetite has been maintained, till a healthful state of the stomach has been produced; and thus all desire for the unnatural stimulus has been extinguished. Few, however, have the mental vigor which is demanded, for success in this course of healing. With nine hundred and ninety nine out of a thousand, the work of their restoration demands the aid of medicine, as well as of moral means. And surely the encouragement to impart this aid is very great, if one out of six, or even ten, may be thus recovered. But if, as I have no doubt is the truth, three out of four may, by persevering effort, be thoroughly cured, let the politician, let the philanthropist, let the christian patronize the work of staying that plague, which is spreading sin, and misery, and death through the land.

A word or two of the modus operandi in these cases. This is very different in different individuals. Some are

far otherwise affected by the same medicine, than are others. Nor is the mere strength of the action displayed by the medicine, the best assurance of its success. That the intemperate may be cured, a more healthful state of the stomach is to be produced; and at the same time, a *thorough disgust* of the liquors with which they have intoxicated themselves. Nor is this all. The disgust which is given, must for a time be kept up by the same means by which it was produced. Several have been strongly affected by a single glass of medicated spirits, and have fancied themselves, and have been thought by others, to have been cured; but have soon returned to their old courses; and others, who have taken half, or two thirds of the portion prescribed, and who for a fortnight or three weeks revolted from the thought of drinking rum, have again drank it. This has done much to bring the work of curing the intemperate into disrepute. The medicine which is given to each one should be of a kind, which is suited to produce in him a disgust of ardent spirits; and this disgust should be kept up for 8, or 10, and sometimes perhaps for 12 days.* I have administered a considerable number of Chambers' powders. But a preparation has been made by Reed and Howard of this city, a principal ingredient of which, I suspect to be of a character which is more universally disgusting, than are any of the

* There are two objects to be had in view in curing the intemperate of their love of intoxicating spirits. The first is, to restore the organs which have been diseased by these spirits to a healthful state. The second is, to produce a disgust of these spirits, as strong, and as permanent as can be produced. A temporary disgust of intoxicating spirits is easily produced; and, that better state of the digestive organs, which will give to the patient a new enjoyment of his food, a new vigor and activity, a new enjoyment of rest after fatigue, and a new happiness in all his employments, and in all his relations. But the patient is not to be considered as a recovered man, merely because he is brought to feel this disgust, and this happiness. There are cases in which these results have been obtained by taking medicated spi-

ingredients in Chambers' powders; or, at least, that this is a more prevailing ingredient in Reed and Howard's, than in the New York preparation. Their "cure for Intemperance," I therefore, decidedly prefer to that of Chambers'.

I cannot but avail myself of this opportunity to enter my protest against the unchristian sentiment, which has of late been too often repeated, "let the confirmed drunkard alone. He is beyond the pale of hope. Let him therefore die in his drunkenness; and let all our cares be directed to the salvation of those, who have been brought within the influence, but who are not yet over-

rits only for two, or three days. But the good effects, in these cases, have been of short duration. I have indeed good reason to suppose, in all the cases in which those who have taken medicated spirits have not been thoroughly disgusted with them, either that the medicinal agent employed was not so well suited to produce a strong disgust in the patient, as might have been produced by some other medicine; or, which is by far the more common cause of failure, the disgust has not been *kept up long enough* to secure its permanence. Here then, the judgment, and I will add, the *authority* of the physician is wanted. Some of those whom I have attended, after two or three days have begged with all the importunity with which a starving man would beg for food, to be permitted "to stop, and to take no more." And it is where this permission has too soon been granted, that almost every case of failure has occurred. The few cases in which medicine has yet been administered for this object are to be considered as *experiments;* and these have demonstrated, that the work of recovering the intemperate by medicine is practicable. Nor are even failures to be considered as exceptions. They prove only, that the work may be more difficult in one, than in another; that a longer term of keeping up disgust is necessary in many cases, than was at first thought to be requisite; and that physicians should have the charge of this great means of doing good, that patients may be kept in subjection, and in endurance, till they may be safely released. If it shall be committed to judicious men, I have no doubt whether this work will prosper. But if it be left to the unskilled, and to empirics, it will soon fall into discredit, and come to nought. There are stages, also, in taking a course of medicated spirits, in which the poor broken down system of the confirmed drunkard requires rest, and other medicinal applications than are given for the cure of his intemperate appetite, which no other than a physician is competent to prescribe. I should not willingly have done what I have in this business, had I not been assisted with the advice, and the occasional visits, of a medical friend, to whom I am much indebted for his services on these occasions.

come by the wiles, of the destroyer."—Too much, indeed, cannot be done to save, and to secure the young; to reclaim those who have but begun to go astray. But never let human nature be given up. God has not given up the drunkard, while yet he permits him to live, and to be within the reach of the sympathy, and aid, which christian solicitude and exertion can extend to him. And shall man give up his fellow sinner, however low the sinner may have fallen? So felt not that friend of sinners, whom we are taught to call Master and Lord. Besides, it is not among the least remarkable of the phenomena, which recent endeavours to cure intemperance have brought to our observation, that there are *moral remains* in the heart even of the habitual drunkard, which are manifested only by the extension to him of christian sympathy, in the endeavour to recover him. It is a very remarkable fact, which recent endeavours to cure the intemperate have developed, or at least have made known as it was not before known, that many habitual drunkards have so strong *a desire to be cured* of their intemperate, and unnatural thirst, that they are willing to go through any course, through which they may pass with safety as to life, for the sake of being cured. As they are seen by the casual observer, or as they are seen in their drunkenness, they seem indeed to have lost every moral element of the soul. But it is not so. Their misery, in a sense of their degraded and debased condition, and of the sufferings which they bring upon those who are connected with them, is often as acute as human nature can sustain; and not having sufficient resolution to maintain a denial of their appetite, they fly to the intoxicating draught, that, as soon as possible, they may obtain a temporary relief from their unutterable wretchedness. Go then to this drunkard,

when he is not under the power of the enemy of his virtue and his happiness, and tell him that he may be made thoroughly disgusted with the poison which he loves, and offer your services to cure him; and you will very probably find,—for so have I more than once found,—that he will weep over his own degradation; and, with a gratitude which no other boon can excite, he will submit himself wholly to your directions. You will find that, unjust, and cruel, and insensible as he has seemed to be, he has yet in his heart the living principles of filial, conjugal and parental affection and duty. These principles have been overpowered by other, and very evil principles; and they have seemed to be dead. But they are not dead. The man has but to be recovered from his intemperance, and you will find that he has still in him the elements of a moral nature, and that he is still capable of returning to God, and of finding happiness in the relations and duties of life. And has God given up this man, while yet we cannot know, till we have seriously tried, whether he may not be recovered from his intemperance?

Respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

P. S. My poors' purse is, and for some time has been, empty; and though demands upon it are far less now, than they were in the winter, there are yet those among us, whom I ought to be able occasionally to relieve.—It may not be amiss also to renew the suggestion, that if we could be furnished with a cheap and permanent lecture room, the benefactors who should give it to us would have no cause to think that they had misapplied their benevolence.

Boston, August 4th, 1827.

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MR. TUCKERMAN'S

FOURTH QUARTERLY,

OR

FIRST ANNUAL REPORT.

ADDRESSED TO THE

American Unitarian Association.

BOSTON,
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Press of I. R. Butts and Co.

1827.

REPORT.

To

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF

THE AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN,

THE experience of a year has convinced me that I was not mistaken in the belief, that I could find an ample field for missionary labor among those in the city, who are unconnected with any of our religious societies. I visit, indeed, in a few other families; but it is for specific purposes, which are immediately connected with the great object of meliorating the condition of the poor, and of diminishing the sum of pauperism, crime and misery.

During the year, I have visited nearly one hundred and seventy families; and my missionary visits, if I have counted them correctly, amount to about nineteen hundred and thirty. The service of the Lecture Room has been continued, and well attended; and an audience apparently more serious and attentive is not, I believe, to be found in the city. I have reason to believe that great good has resulted from this service. I have also occasionally visited the House of Correction, and the schoo for Juvenile Delinquents at South Boston, with a view

the objects of my mission. I have brought a number of children into our schools, who otherwise would not have been there; and, through the kindness of a few friends, I have been enabled to extend great relief and comfort to the sick and greatly suffering poor. Nor is it to my mind the least gratifying circumstance in a review of the year which closes today, that I have been instrumental in recovering some from intemperance, who would otherwise, probably, have fallen its victims. In reference to this part of my labors, my only regret is, that the evidence which I have furnished of what might be done by the united efforts of those more skilful than myself in the use of medicine, has led to no better results. I am perfectly satisfied that there are very many, who are every month dying the slaves of intemperance, whom physicians could bring into a condition, which would make them the subjects of a moral influence, which it is in vain to employ, while they are under the full dominion of the appetite which is destroying them.—I could easily give you a report, filled with affecting narratives of the vices of some, and of the suffering of others whom I visit; and I could tell you also, I think, of one and another, whose piety, virtue and happiness, I have been instrumental in advancing. But I am solicitous, rather, to lay before you some statements of the actual condition of the poor around us, by which a judgment may be formed of their rightful claims, and of the duty devolving on those, whom God has made his stewards, and whose only happiness in the distinction with which they are now blessed it will at *last* be, to have been *faithful.*

It seems not to be so extensively, and so distinctly un-

derstood as it should be, that there is a wide difference between the condition, and therefore between the claims, of the poor of cities, and of the poor of the country. Let me say a few words upon this topic.

In the first place, he may be accounted a poor man in the country, who owns but half a dozen acres around his poor dwelling. And yet he may have a fee of these acres, which is to descend to his children. But he will be accounted poor, because he cannot provide for his family, as all around him would be glad to see them provided for. He therefore occasionally receives assistance from others. But the fee of a single acre of land will give to him who has it the feeling of a hold upon society, and of a standing in society, of which the man knows nothing who cannot call a foot of all the earth his own. His children, too, partake of this feeling. And, not being clustered, as the children of the poor are in cities, with other poor families, they have not the facilities which cities offer, for communication with those by whom they might be corrupted. These are circumstances which give great advantages to the poor of the country over the poor of cities.

But take the case,—and it is admitted that such cases there are,—of a poor family in the country, whose hovel, or half decayed house, is held by a small rent; a rent, however, amounting not to more than a quarter of the sum which is demanded for the open, cold, damp and cheerless rooms of many of the poor in our city. This poor family, through our long winters, suffers not from a want of fuel. It has, too, a well filled powdering tub.*

* The common term in the country for a tub in which salted provisions are kept.

By charity, or otherwise, it possesses also a cow. And if it have not money with which to purchase potatoes and grain, these are readily given in exchange for labor. This family is also an integral part of the parish, equally as the family of the richest, and equally obtains the personal attention and care of the parish minister. Its place in the parish church, if vacant, would be an object of notice; and its condition and wants are scarcely better known within its own circle, than they are among all those with whom the family joins in worship on the sabbath. Its children are in the same school with the children of their comparatively opulent neighbors; and the parents and children of each of these classes are often laboring together in the same field. Thus are families brought into a connexion with each other, which would immediately cease if they should come into the city; and thus is a sympathy awakened and maintained, which is the principle of a most important moral union, and exerts a great influence upon the character and condition of the poor in the country. I hardly need to say that, very different is the condition of the poor in cities.

I will briefly notice some of the circumstances of the poor in our city, which call for the attention of those, who are desirous as widely as possible to extend the influences of our religion among us.

There is a class of journeyman mechanics, who, perhaps, can generally get work enough in the summer for a comfortable support of their families; but who can obtain little employment in the winter. Without some assistance, therefore, they cannot keep their children constantly at school. Much less can they afford to rent pews

in our churches; and they will not go into free seats, as free seats now are. Call this pride, if you will. They will call it a sense of character. Without discussing this question, I would only bring them before you as one of the classes which demand our sympathy.

There is another class, consisting of those who depend on the work which they can get as day laborers. These, also, can generally provide for their families in the summer. But through much of the winter, most of them pass a large part of their time in idleness;—the evils of which will be too obvious to require comment. The excuse of some of them for not attending public worship is, that they have not suitable apparel. Others of them do not choose to go into the poor's seats. And others are kept from church by loose and vicious habits. Nor, without much watchfulness, and some assistance, will their children at this season be kept at school.

Another class consists of widows, who have the charge of young children. They can ask no one to take the charge of these children in their absence. Nor can they control their children who refuse to go to school; and who are scarcely at home during their waking hours, except to obtain food. Besides, they can neither so clothe themselves, nor their children, that they are willing to go, or to carry them, to church.

Again. There are many who are never settled in a place for more than a few weeks, or at most, for three or four months. You may leave them today at the north end of the city, and tomorrow they may be in some yard or court at the south end, where it will require some tim

and diligence to find them. As they would have to change their school and place of worship almost as frequently as they change their dwelling place, they avoid this inconvenience by never going to any church, and by letting their children run at large.

And there are others, who may retain their place of residence, but who absolutely know nothing of order, economy, neatness or comfort. Either the husband, or the wife, or it may be, both are intemperate. I may leave it with you to imagine what is the condition of the children in these families.

And, once more, there are aged and feeble poor, and sick families among the poor, who can do very little for their own support. The protracted sickness of a parent, and especially of an only parent, or the long sickness of a child, or of children, brings wants and sufferings into the families of the poor, which, to be understood, must be seen. And the aged poor, who are wholly dependent on private bounty, have claims on our sympathy, which few can resist who witness them.

What hold, then, have these poor among us upon our institutions? Upon our churches, to a great extent, they have none. By means of our schools, indeed, a very large portion of their children are taught to read, and write, and cypher; and there is generally, among parents, a most laudable solicitude and care, that their children shall have the benefits of these schools. But these parents are known to those more favored than themselves, only as *laborers*, or as *beggars*. All who dwell within some miles of each other in the country are *neighbors*.

They exchange neighborly salutations when they meet; and the rich are as well acquainted with all the circumstances of the poor, as the poor are with those of the rich. In the city, this cannot be. But it might, and with as great advantage to the rich as to the poor, be far more so than it is. The poor, too, I have said, are here clustered together; and where there are vicious parents among them, they greatly increase each other's corruption; and the children who are not sent to school, and live as vagrants in the streets, contaminate and lead into crime, those who might otherwise be blessings to their parents and to the community. I do not wish unnecessarily to swell this detail. My only object is to present a few leading facts, by which others may be aided in some measure to conceive of what exists so near to them.

Is it said, that public provision for the poor is already very large, and very expensive? I answer, that I not only have no wish to propose any measures, which shall increase the burden of public expense, but that it is a great object of my cares and purposes to lessen this burden. I have a due estimation of our primary, Sunday and grammar schools; of the school for Juvenile Delinquents, and of the House of Industry, at South Boston; and of our various associations for benevolent and pious purposes. But admirable as these agents are, and great as is the good which they are producing, they do not comprehend all for which the poor have claims upon us. I would speak modestly, but it is necessary also to speak plainly upon this subject.

I would observe then, *first*, that there are many who will suffer any thing, rather than go to the public alm

house. Is it said, this is pride? In many cases, without doubt, it is. But will any one say, then let them suffer, and find support in their pride? I answer, this very pride, or this feeling, whatever it be, excites to much exertion for the supply of their wants. But with all this exertion, they cannot obtain enough to lodge, and clothe, and feed themselves and their children. Many mothers are making shirts and pantaloons for eight cents each, who cannot, with the charge of their families, make more than twelve in a week, who must yet pay, on every Saturday night, a dollar, or a dollar and a quarter, for a week's rent, and who must get bread and clothes as they can. A widow, or a wife who has an intemperate husband, will struggle through difficulties of which they dream not who do not visit the abodes of the poor, that she may keep herself and her children from the alms house. Are we then to have no sympathy with the wants of these families? The appeal is not to the civil authorities, but to private christians.

Again. If public worship and the maintenance of a ministry be so essential to the well being of society, that our constitution makes it obligatory upon towns and parishes to support these institutions; and if the number be great in large cities, who, by the peculiar circumstances of their condition are removed from the influences, and excluded from the benefits, of these institutions; then there is a moral obligation devolving either on the government, or on the opulent, of cities, to provide for the religious instruction of those who cannot otherwise obtain it. I do not indeed think it desirable that the civil power should interpose in this concern. A far greater amount

of good will be secured, by leaving it to private christians, than by making it a matter of civil administration. Is it asked, what can private christians do for this object?

I answer, *first*, by a more generous provision than is now made, in many of our churches, for the accommodation of the poor. I do not mean by any considerable enlargement of the number of free seats; but by the assignment in every church of a certain number of pews, which it may be understood can be rented at so low a rate, that they who prefer to pay something, and who can afford to pay but very little, may feel able to obtain them for their families. It will not require a long intimacy with the poor to know, that the condition is far better of those among them by whom the order of the Sabbath is observed, and who are connected with some religious society, than of those to whom this day brings only a suspension of ordinary labors, and facilities for evil indulgences.

Secondly. There are those who are unwilling to go, and who do not go, into our churches in the day, who are yet very willing to attend upon a service in the evening. An experiment has been made, with a view to ascertain the utility of an evening lecture room for the poor; and the success which has attended it, warrants an appeal to the opulent for *the gift of a permanent room for this purpose.* And shall we not have it? It is now near a year ago that a large apartment in the upper story of the circular building at the bottom of Portland street was rented, and furnished by the enterprise and benevolence of a few individuals; and in this room many are gathered every Sunday evening, who would otherwise worship

no where. In this room, also, I have delivered I think more than twenty lectures on natural history, to children who came to hear them on Thursday afternoon. During the latter part of this course of lectures, they were attended by between a hundred and fifty and a hundred and sixty young persons. Will not our opulent citizens, then, give us at least one such lecture room?

Again. There will still be many, who cannot be collected even for an evening service. There should therefore be ministers, whose peculiar duty it should be to go from house to house among the poor; and to carry the knowledge, the excitements and comforts of our religion to those, who otherwise, it is certain, will at best live and die almost wholly without them. I do not hesitate to say, that this is an office which is quite as important in cities, as that of ministers for our churches.

Again. A missionary may do much to assist poor parents in keeping their children at school; and this is an object to which I have given much attention. But an authority should exist somewhere, and he to whom it is entrusted should use it, to dispose of lads who own no master, who regard no law, and who, if not in a legal sense *vagrants*, because there is a place in the city which they call their *home*, are yet known to be profane, intemperate, dishonest, and as far as they may be at their age, abandoned to crime. I have often thought that a more useful office could not be instituted in the city, than that of a superintendant of the children who ought to be in our schools, with a power to compel those to be there, who are wholly beyond parental control, and who now live in the streets, about the markets, or on our wharfs. There

would be no infringement of rights in this compulsion, if the parents of these children shall consent to it. And they will not only give their consent to it, but their gratitude to him who exercises it.

Much might also be done for the prevention of pauperism, crime and misery, by the establishment of two or three private schools in different parts of the city, for the education of the children who are too old for the primary, and who are not qualified for the grammar schools. I know it is feared, that such schools will operate as a bounty upon the thoughtlessness and the negligence of parents, who are not disposed to avail themselves of our primary schools. But exclusively of these parents, there is a considerable number of those who bring children into the city, either from other parts of our own state or country, or from abroad, who must either thus be prepared for our grammar schools, or utterly excluded from them; and who, if thus excluded, will through their lives be as ignorant of letters as they now are. A school of this kind has been kept, till very recently, in Scott's Court, in Union street, and supported by private bounty. But, from want of funds, it is now broken up. I have known sixteen children to be sent, in one quarter, from this school to grammar schools; and without this school, these children would probably never have known how to read. Two or three individuals, without a very great sacrifice, might unite to support such a school. I would earnestly recommend this object to the benevolent among us; and will cheerfully offer my services for the superintendence of such a school, or of such schools.

In this connexion, I am constrained to say a word o

two of the school for Juvenile delinquents. As the law of that institution now is, a child cannot be sent there, but after trial in open court, and *conviction of a crime;* and as others may refuse to appear in court against him, the duty devolves on his parents; and, perhaps, on a widowed mother. But there are parents, whose hearts are almost broken by the evil conduct of their children, who yet cannot bring themselves to this dreadful measure, even by the hope of saving their children from utter ruin. Is this surprising? Besides, is it not apparent, that the influence must be very evil on the minds of children sent to that institution, that they are sent there as *condemned criminals?* This seems to me to be the most unfavorable circumstance in the prospects of the usefulness of that institution. I would not have children taken by force from their parents to be sent there; nor would I have any children there, who can be kept in the schools of the city. But if a child be vicious, if he goes to no school, and can hardly read, and cannot write; if he be wholly beyond the authority of his parents, and is contaminating other children with whom he associates; may he not, upon the application of his parent to the Directors of the School, obtain admission there? For the prevention of pauperism and crime, I am persuaded that this institution, wisely regulated, may be one of the most important means that can be devised. But it is yet in its infancy; and experience, I doubt not, will bring into it important improvements, and make it a rich source of private and public blessings.

There is yet much to be learned respecting the moral police of cities. Missionaries may do much in collecting

facts, by which alone we can be guided to the true principles, by which cities may be most effectually secured against the evils peculiarly incidental to them. There is indeed much in the science of government, which is beyond the reach of human legislation, or of civil officers; much, the obligation of which devolves on the intelligent, the affluent, the moral and religious part of the community, in their capacity as private christians. Let us be as solicitous to understand and to practice our *duties*, as we are to understand and to maintain our *rights*, and if poverty and crime may not be banished, their amount may be very greatly diminished.—I shall gratefully engage in any service, which promises to conduce to an end so desirable.

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, Nov. 5th, 1827.

(6)

MR TUCKERMAN'S

FIRST SEMIANNUAL REPORT

OF THE SECOND YEAR,

AS MINISTER AT LARGE.

BOSTON,
BOWLES & DEARBORN, 72 WASHINGTON STREET,
DEPOSITORY OF THE AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.
1828.

BOSTON,
Press of Isaac R. Butts & Co.

REPORT.

To

The Executive Committee of the

American Unitarian Association.

Gentlemen,

It was not long after I had entered upon the service in which I am employed, before I perceived that it offered opportunities for very various and extensive usefulness; for offices, indeed, of a very humble nature, but of great importance to those for whom we may be called to perform them. For a long time I cherished the hope, that when others should be found who would unite with me in this work, I might obtain their cooperation in my plans and purposes; and thus silently, and almost without observation, that a moral police might be established, the beneficial influences of which, I fear not, would soon have secured for it the approbation, and the willing support of the wise and good among us. But as I have yet obtained no coadjutor, and as I find it to be utterly impossible, while I am exposed to daily calls in every part of the city, to be thorough anywhere in some of the most important objects of my office, I am compelled, with more particularity and distinctness than I have yet done, to bring these objects before you. I hope, by this means, to awaken a more active interest in the cause in which we are engaged; and to do something to obtain fellow laborers, through whose devotion to the work

every family of the poor in the city shall be brought under a pastoral care, which will gradually, but surely, do much to make Boston, what I believe it may be made, preeminently a christian city.

I have often been asked, what I suppose to be the number of families in the city which are without a pastor? Within the past eighteen months, I have indeed been connected only with about two hundred and fifty such families. But there is not a lane, nor is there hardly a single yard, which I have explored thoroughly. Boston, however, contains at least sixtyfive thousand inhabitants. Suppose the average number in the families of the city to be five, and there will be thirteen thousand families. There are also, I think, fortyfour places of worship. Giving two hundred families to each of these places of worship,—which will be as many as can be claimed for them,—there will be eight thousand and eight hundred families, which are connected with our religious societies; and four thousand, two hundred which will be left without a ministry. But suppose that there are only three thousand families, or fifteen thousand individuals in our city, who, by various circumstances are shut out from the influences of our public religious institutions. I would ask, should they not be provided with a ministry, by which the blessings of our religion, as far as shall be practicable, may be extended to them? I feel strongly, and I have much to say, upon this subject. But I will confine myself within as narrow limits as I can, in the hope that I may thus obtain attention to it. Let the interests, and the claims of this ministry be understood, and I think that they cannot be disregarded.

I am inclined to believe that there is not a city in

Christendom, in which the public institutions of our religion are more generally regarded, or in which their salutary influence is more widely felt, than in Boston. But it is incidental to the very nature of a city, that it should collect within itself very great numbers of those, who are dependant for their daily bread upon their daily labors. The demand for laborers in a city, considered, as it always will be, in connexion with the facilities which a city affords for association with many of the same class, and with the hope, often a very delusive one, of opportunities of more constant employment, and of better wages, than can be obtained in the country, will secure a supply far beyond what will be required, in all the departments of the service for which laborers are wanted. Some also will be brought into a city, by the hope of living in it in unchecked idleness and beggary; and some, that they may here more securely indulge in vice, and support themselves by crime. From these, and other causes, there always has been, and there will be, a very large number in cities who are very poor; who will feel, as it is not felt, because it is not so manifest, in the country, how wide is the distinction of their condition from that of the rich; and who either *cannot*, from feebleness, or sickness, or the want of suitable apparel, unite with us in worship in our churches; or from pride, or the influence of passions and habits not more commendable, *will not* join with us in our public religious exercises. The question, then, arises, and it is a very solemn one, what are our duties in regard to the moral, the spiritual wants, of this very large class of our fellow beings aroun[d] us? If we have the means, to a very great extent at le[ast] of meeting and supplying these wants, of rescu

many, who are very near to us, on our right hand, and on our left, from the degradation, and misery, and ruin of sin; of sending to very many, who otherwise will not have them, the regenerating instructions and excitements, the supports and consolations of our religion; I would ask, is our worship, or are our offerings to God in our churches what they should be, while we are there blessing him for that dispensation of his grace and truth which he has given to us by his Son, which, however, we are ourselves withholding from multitudes, who can receive them only through our christian sympathy and benevolence? To my mind, it is as plainly the will of God, that there should be a permanent ministry for the poor of cities,—a distinct ministry for the special purpose of the poor,—as it is that we, who are not poor, should meet together to worship him. This is the sentiment which I now wish to bring before the opulent, the pious and the charitable of our city. *There must be a ministry at large for the poor of cities; and the number to be employed in this ministry must be determined by the numbers in a city, which cannot be brought under the pastoral charge of the ministers of its churches.* Bear with me, while I offer, in as few words as I can, the character of the service for which this ministry is required.

Let me however, in the first place say, that not less than four protestant ministers, and one catholic, will be demanded for this service in our city. I will ask you, then, to suppose the city to be divided into quarters; and that, in one of these quarters, a minister at large has entered upon the duties of his office. He is, of course, to become acquainted with every family in it, which is not regularly visited by some minister of a church; and

he is to feel that each of these families is committed to his pastoral charge. His *first* object is, their religious instruction, in order to their eternal salvation.

Look, then, at the work of the religious instruction of this class of the poor. What is required for it? What is to be anticipated from it?

Here permit me to remark, that the hope of rescuing a fellow creature from sin and misery is never to be given up, while God shall continue to spare him. The most depraved and debased being in society, who has apparently cast off all fear alike of God and of man, is to be an object of strong compassion and interest. Nor is the repeated failure of endeavors for his recovery to justify discouragement. I have seen cases of apparent total depravity, a more intimate acquaintance with which has brought to my knowledge some spring of feeling, or of desire in the soul, which, with God's blessing on the labor of cleansing it from its defilements, has sent forth the sweet waters of virtue and peace. I have even seen him, who was habitually profane and intemperate, a most wicked and cruel child, husband, and father, and early broken down, and apparently brought near the grave, by his irregular and abandoned life, restored to health by the means by which he was restored to virtue; restored to his mother, his wife and his children, to whom he had been lost, as far as respects all that is interesting and happy in these relations; and, by penitence and prayer, as I believe, recovered to God, and to the hopes of the life to come. Let the minister at large then feel, that, in every family in his department, which is unprovided with a christian pastor and teacher, and which will accept his services, he is to be a pastor and a teache

He will have families in his charge, the parents of which were religiously educated, and began their married life with an intention to maintain domestic order, and a due observance of the Lord's day. But they began life with little or no preparation for any emergence, which would call for any extraordinary expense. The necessity of extraordinary expense was, however, soon occasioned by sickness; and in this time of difficulty, one small debt was contracted, and then another; and then the harassed mind sought a refuge from its troubles in intemperance, and in vicious company; and then came the necessity of frequent removals from one place to another. He will find some, likewise, who, under the pressure of great embarrassments, have struggled hard to maintain their principles as men and Christians; and others, who are but just beginning to feel strongly the perplexities and exposures, which have brought many to ruin,—and who, by affectionate advice, and a little timely and judicious assistance, may be saved from falling. He will find that, in some of the families in which there is an intemperate husband, there is a well principled and virtuous wife and mother, who is silently enduring, and patiently striving, in the care, and for the education, of her children. And he will find widows, with young children whom they cannot leave on Sunday; and aged and feeble families, to which, if the gospel is to be preached, it must be in the apartments in which they live, and from house to house. In taking upon himself the charge of these classes of the poor, it should be a primary object of a minister at large, to bring as many as is possible of them into a connexion with the religious societies of the city. And happy will it be, if he can go

forth among them for this object, without any of the spirit of sectarism. Strongly as I am attached to what I think to be the great doctrines of Christianity,—and they are the life spring of my soul—I do not hesitate, when I find a decided preference for a church of other sentiments than those which I receive, to recommend a connexion with that church, to all who express this preference, as a very important means of their improvement and happiness. I find my own views of our religion, indeed, to be very acceptable among the intelligent and serious of the poor. But I feel that a great good has been obtained, by every instance in which a family is linked with almost any of our religious societies. Nor, when they are thus brought into any of our churches, is it to be feared whether the poor will gladly and gratefully continue to receive him as their pastor, from whose familiar, and frequently repeated instructions, and kind attentions, they have experienced very important benefits.

But the work will be a slow one, of thus enlarging the number of worshippers in our churches. Nor is it to be doubted, after all that can be done for this purpose, whether there will be still a very large number, whom it will be found impracticable to bring into this connexion. That these families may be brought in any degree under the influences of our religion, and be made in any measure the subjects of its renewing and sanctifying power, it must be sent to them by men who are peculiarly devoted to their instruction; who will become intimately acquainted with the character of their minds, and with their moral wants; by men, I will even add, who decidedly prefer this to any other service, and who wil feel it to be their privilege to live, and spend, and b

spent, for their christian improvement. Nor will it do to commit this office to a succession of young men, each of whom is to act in it only for a few months, and in preparation for a very different ministry. I believe that, whatever benefit the young teacher, who is so employed—and to him it may indeed be great—may derive from this service, they who are taught will be comparatively but little improved by it. The minister at large of a section of the city should consecrate to the poor of that section his strength, and his life. Nor do I doubt whether he will find in it enough of ignorance, and vice, and suffering, to task all his faculties, and to require all his time. Let him, from day to day, and if he have strength for it, from morning till night of every day, be passing from house to house. Let him make his presence welcome, by the affectionate interest which he feels, and manifests, for the welfare and happiness of those whom he visits. And let them find in him a religious teacher and pastor, who is willing to listen to their doubts, and difficulties, and sufferings; who can kindly encourage, or rebuke, or advise them; who prays with them, and helps them to pray for themselves; and who has aided them in being happier, by aiding them in being better than they were; and he will be cordially welcomed as often as he may visit them. He may indeed, in many cases, feel strong doubts of the usefulness of his labors. But he will also see precious fruits of them. Nor, painful as are some of the scenes through which he must pass, and trying as are some of the circumstances that must occur in this ministry, do I believe that there is a department of the sacred office that is either more useful than this; or, one that will yield greater satisfac-

tions, than will be found by him who heartily engages in it.

The *second* object of this service is, the assistance of parents in the education and the care of their children.

In one of my former reports, I suggested the expediency of appointing a superintendant of the children who are living in idleness and vice in our streets. But, upon a better acquaintance than I then had with the extent of the difficulties and the wants of poor parents, and of the far happier operation of moral, than of civil influence, in all their domestic concerns, I should now wish that this service might devolve exclusively upon the ministers of the poor. A resort can be had to the civil authority, when all moral means shall have proved ineffectual. In this department of their duties, I believe that ministers at large, if they shall be judicious and practical men, may do much for the prevention of pauperism, crime, and misery; much in the work of accomplishing a great temporal, as well as a great spiritual salvation.

It should be an aim of the minister at large to know all the children in every family of the district in which he makes his pastoral visits. The children will also know him, as the friend, and religious teacher of their parents; and his influence, in this character, will be felt. He will also have the power, and it will be known that he has it, and that, if it be necessary he will use it, to bring the child, who will neither yield to command, nor to persuasion, under an authority to which he *must* submit. Suppose him, then, as he passes from house to house, to be as regular in his inquiries respecting the children, as he is respecting the spiritual interests of their parents. He will find some parents, who feel but

little interest in the character or conduct of their children. But he will find also broken hearted mothers, whose tears, and sobs, will awaken his strongest sympathy; and by whom the offer of his aid, in rescuing their children from sin and destruction, will be received with a gratitude which is to be fully conceived only by him who has witnessed it. He will find children who are kept from school by the want of books, with which their parents cannot supply them; and others, by the want of clothes. He will find some who are kept at home in the winter, to gather chips, or to beg; and others, between the ages of nine and fourteen, who are much of their time employed as errand boys in shops and offices, and on whose wages the parent, or the parents, depend perhaps, for the payment of the rent of their rooms; but who are yet often at home in idleness, and exposed to the most vicious influences. And he will find truant boys, whom their parents cannot keep at school; profane and quarrelsome boys, the great annoyance of the neighborhood in which they live; boys who have made some advances in the arts of petty pilfering; and even lads who have begun the guilty indulgence, in which, if they are not soon arrested, they will sink into the debasement of early confirmed intemperance. It will not, therefore, I think be doubted, whether the minister be suitably employed, and well employed, in the work of putting as many as may be possible of these children into a school; and of maintaining an oversight of those whom he has placed there, that he may be sure of their faithful attendance. Or, where there are those who scoff at parental control, and whose vicious example exposes others to corruption and ruin, let the parent be assisted to find masters for them whom they

dare not disobey; or, to place them in the school of reformation at South Boston. The difficulties are neither few, nor small, which will sometimes arise in the discharge of this part of a minister's duty. But its compensations will also be great, if he shall assuage, and even heal the anguish of many a parent's heart; and shall save, as I believe that he may, many children, not only from ignorance, but from moral death.

In the *third*, and last department of the duties of a minister at large, I would include all those acts and offices, by which he may relieve the poor in their immediate, and most pressing necessities; or aid them in the improvement of their temporal condition.

Here, I am aware, that an objection may arise in the minds of some, who may otherwise view with favor the cause which I am pleading. The charity of a minister, it may be said, and has been said, will lead to pretensions of piety, and to base hypocrisy, as a means of supplying the wants of those, who, if they were but truly virtuous, might support themselves, and their families, by their own industry. And full well indeed do I know how manifold are the evils of an indiscriminate charity. But is a minister less able than are others to detect the pretensions of hypocrisy? I appeal to common sense, whether an experienced giver, if in other respects his judgment may be trusted, will not probably be the best giver; and whether any one can have better advantages for a knowledge of the actual characters, capabilities and necessities of the poor, than one, who, allowing him to be an ordinarily sensible and practical man, is constantly visiting in their families, hearing their reports of one another, and is never willingly absent from any longer

than ten days or a fortnight. It is known to many of the poor whom I visit, that I act as the almoner of some of my friends. But it is quite as well known to them, that I will not, in any way, minister to their vices. I must indeed, in this office, either impoverish myself or have my Poor's Purse supplied by others; for I cannot daily, and from morning till night, be passing from one to another of the abodes of sickness and want, and witness distress which it would be cruel not to endeavor to relieve, and pray with, and for these suffering families, and leave with them nothing but my advice, and exhortations, and prayers. I cannot say to virtuous and industrious widows, whose whole earnings of the week will barely pay their rent, and who sometimes cannot obtain the employment by which they may earn a shilling, but who yet have children that look to them for bread; or to the aged poor; or to the feeble and sick poor, who are but partially covered from the cold, and who are without fuel, and without food, "be ye warmed, and fed, and clothed," while I give them none of those things that are needful for the body. I am ready, as far as it may be done, to maintain, and to act upon, the principle, "if a man *will not* work, neither shall he eat." But if he *cannot* work, or cannot obtain employment,—and strange as it may seem to some, this is a very possible case,—nor eat, except he obtain the bread of charity, shall it be withholden? There are cases too, requiring indeed great caution, in which, however, we must not leave the unoffending family of a base man to suffer without mitigation all the miseries to which his vices may expose them. I would therefore propose, that the minister at large be the almoner of those, who cannot themselves visit the poor;

and that he shall always hold himself accountable for the disbursements of his Poor's Purse, to those who shall contribute to the supply of it. He who has not a judgment and caution that can be trusted in this work, is not qualified for the office of a minister to the poor. If a man is so easily to be deceived, that he is not to be trusted with the bestowment of alms, is he fitted, I would ask, to be a spiritual guide?

But it is not alone by alms-giving, that he is to seek the immediate and the temporal good of those to whom he ministers. He is to be to the poor, emphatically, and in all things, *a christian friend.* And innumerable are the cases in which his advice, and personal assistance, may do much to save them from dependence on charity. I need not descend to examples. It is enough on this topic to say, that whatever may be the circumstances in which the poor may want the direction, or the encouragement, which a christian friend can supply, in this exigence I would have them feel, that they may find this friend in the minister who visits in their families.

The question may arise, whence is to be obtained the support of this permanent ministry for the poor? I reply, that if three or four of our churches will unite in the cause, or if the benevolent societies in three or four of our churches will cooperate for this end, they will, I think, do more good, and render a more useful service to Christianity, than by any other direction which they can give to their charity. The support of a minister for a quarter of the city, in which, as far as shall be practicable, every poor family shall be brought within the pale of christian sympathy, and under christian influences, will

not be a great burden upon three or four of our churches. Let the minister be responsible to those from whom he receives his appointment and support, and let him give periodical reports of his labors, and of the condition and wants of those to whom he ministers, and the beneficial results of this establishment, I believe, will be as favorable upon these churches, as upon the poor to whom they shall thus be instruments of extending the knowledge and blessings of the christian salvation.

At all events, let the actual condition of the poor in cities, and the character and objects of the ministry which I propose, be well understood, and it will not long be found difficult to make provision for this ministry. It will be felt to be of at least equal importance, with any mission to the heathen world; while it is exposed to no one of the objections which are brought against the cause of foreign missions. It will, I am confident, call forth the affectionate interests of many, whose hearts are open to the demands of human want and suffering; and donations will be made, and there will be legacies, to permanent funds for this object. I heartily wish that any who are at once blessed with abundance, and who feel their responsibility for it as stewards of God, would accompany me for a few days, or a week, in my pastoral visits; and I will engage, in return, never to ask of them any patronage of the cause. It shall be left with every one's conscience. Nor indeed should I doubt whether a man, who loves the city in which he has accumulated his fortune, and who has known by his own experience the blessings of christian institutions, and is desirous to do the greatest good which he can do with the means of good which God has given him, will consider this service

as deserving either of slow, or of stinted bounty.—I speak freely, for I ask nothing for myself. But I am greatly solicitous to see a commencement made of the work, which I may hope will be continued as long as our city shall be blessed with a ministry. The example will be followed by other cities, and we shall thus do good far beyond the narrow limits of our own borders. It is manifestly the design of Providence, that the poor, for whom Christ died as well as for the rich, shall be made the charge of the rich, in the great concern of their spiritual instruction and salvation. And if on us devolves the accomplishment of this design, let each one determine for himself his responsibility in regard to it.

To the benefactors of my Poor's Purse, I render my hearty and best thanks. They have done much to gladden me in my work, as well as to bless the poor; and they have been instruments of relieving a great amount of want and suffering. I have kept, as I believe, an accurate account of my receipts und expenditures for the poor, from the beginning of my service as a minister at large; and my books are open for the examination of any one, by whom any money has been committed to my charge. May I be allowed to say, that although much less is demanded for charity in summer than in winter, there yet still are, and will be, many among the poor who are sick; many who are too feeble, and too much broken, for entire self-support; and many in various circumstances of affliction, to whose pressing wants I must occasionally contribute. As, therefore, very little remains with me of the contributions of the winter, I shall very gratefully receive whatever any may be disposed to bestow.

Be not weary in well doing; for in due season ye will reap, if ye faint not.

In the several departments of the service of a city minister at large, to which I have called your attention, I have wished and endeavored to do my duty. Within the last six months I have made a few more than thirteen hundred visits. Am I asked, what have been the results of these pastoral visits ? I answer that of very many of them I have nothing to say, but that they were intended for good. I do not doubt, however, in the greater part even of these cases, whether some good was done. The good accomplished is not always to be determined by the good which is to be seen. It is very possible, and by no means improbable, that some may thus have been awakened, convinced of sin, and brought to humiliation before God, and to better endeavors than they had ever before made for christian virtue, of whom no report can be made, till the day in which the secrets of all hearts shall be revealed. Nor is it improbable that some may thus have been encouraged and strengthened, and carried on in the way to life eternal, of whose greatest trials, and conflicts, and conquests, we may have but little knowledge, till we and they shall see the end of our faith, in our final salvation. I have, however, the happiness to know, that there are those to whom this ministry has been, and is, a great and most essential blessing. There are those to whom it has brought a great improvement of their condition, even as regards their means of self support and of comfort in this world; and there are those whom it has brought to a greater contentment with their condition, even where

that condition, with respect to immediate want and suffering, is essentially unchanged. There are cases, too, in which improvement of character, and an advancement of the best happiness, are most obvious and unquestionable. There are some,—not many, indeed, but there are some,—who are now industrious, and temperate, and are comfortably supporting their families, and who know by their own experience how great are the blessings of domestic union, and order, and peace, with whom it has been a solemn question within the past year, whether their families must not be broken up? But without referring to these cases, it should be enough to know, that, by this ministry, the light, and consolations, and encouragements of our religion are carried to many, who otherwise would not have received them; that the gospel is thus preached to those in the midst of us, to whom otherwise it would not have been preached; and that the seed is thus sown, which it may be *hoped* will spring up to everlasting life. The influence of pastoral visits among the poor may be, and is, to a great extent, of a most salutary character, even where no great and striking changes are produced by them. And in the cases in which such changes are made, I am quite sure that they who are the subjects of them would not be benefited by a publication of them to the world; these are private concerns, and, however such narratives might be relished by those who have an appetite for this kind of excitement, I cannot bring them into my reports. But if this influence can be exerted only by a permanent ministry at large for the service of the poor, should not this ministry, to an extent somewhat at least proportioned to the wants of the poor in our city, be immediately appointed?

The service of the lecture room has been continued; and has, I think, been very useful. The room is well filled by a very attentive, and apparently a very serious audience. A subscription has lately been taken, the interest of which, as a fund, is to be appropriated to the rent of a Lecture room, and its incidental expenses. We greatly need a more convenient place for this service than we now have; but there is no small difficulty in procuring one.

I hope you will not think that I overrate the importance of this ministry. I would not ask for it more than it deserves. But so strong is my own impression of its usefulness, that, if I view it only as an expedient of political economy, I think its claims to be as unequivocal, as are those of any prudential measure that can be proposed. But when I think of it in its infinitely higher relations and objects,—that is, as a means of bringing many, who are otherwise in a condition but little better than that of outcasts, within the circle of christian influences, and of strengthening them in christian principles, and of doing what may be done to prepare them for the Christian's final blessedness, —it seems to me that no service will give a better compensation for the sacrifices that are required to maintain it; and that no one who is alive to christian obligations, and who is able to aid in its maintenance, can view it with indifference, or withhold from it his support.

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, May 5th, 1828.

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MR TUCKERMAN'S

SECOND SEMIANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

SECOND YEAR OF HIS SERVICE

AS A MINISTER AT LARGE

IN BOSTON.

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REPORT.

To

The Executive Committee of the
AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN,

In my last Report, I asked your attention to the objects of the service of a minister at large in the city; and I endeavored to show that the labors of at least four or five are required, in any suitable manner to meet the moral wants of the poor among us. That Report, I have reason to believe, has been favorably received by those to whom you sent it. But the importance of this service is not yet felt, as it should be; for if it were, the demand for laborers in it would not only have been clearly and strongly expressed by those, by whom the office, if it is to be made permanent, is to be maintained, but it would have been repeated, till the call was answered. It is not, and it cannot be, that men are not to be found, who are most thoroughly qualified for this work. The truth on this subject is, that public sentiment among us is as yet far too low, respecting the nature of the work, its true character, and the greatness of its obligations. A very general approbation is expressed of it, and a readiness by some to contribute to its permanent establishment. But the question is at the same time proposed,

"what is the cheapest possible rate at which this office can be made permanent?" A consequence of this is a feeling, that the office is as subordinate in its character, as it is in its prospects of remuneration, to him who shall think of entering upon it. Here, I believe, lies the principal difficulty of obtaining the services of those in this field of labor, who shall be at once disposed to its duties, and most thoroughly fitted to perform them. Permit me to speak freely on this subject, for I ask no additional compensation for myself. But I am most solicitous, that the service shall be begun in a manner, which will secure its continuance as long as there shall be poor in our city to require it.

The office of a minister at large, for the service of the poor, is viewed by many, as they have learned to view the office of a missionary to the heathen. All, it is thought, which is required in either, is, a deep piety, a benevolent heart, and an earnest desire to do good; qualities, indeed, which are of the first importance in men who are engaged in either of these employments, but by no means alone sufficient for the duties of either. I do not mean to imply, that there have not been learned and sensible men, who were qualified by their talents and attainments for any station in the church, who, with a spirit of self-sacrifice worthy of the best days of our religion, have gone out as missionaries; and, after having lived in the greatest denials and endurances, have died martyrs to the cause they have espoused. Each of the continents, and many of the great islands of our globe, contain the dust of many of these worthy followers of him who died for man. But they consecrated their lives as well to personal poverty, as to the work of

seeking and saving them that were lost. Our talented and powerful men, it is thought, are wanted for the warfare that is to be maintained against error in the high places at home. And in the city, above all places, the importance and dignity of employments and offices, will be graduated, in the public estimation, by the compensation which they command. The proposition, therefore, to allow six, or even eight hundred dollars a year, as the salary of a minister at large, has been met, as it might have been anticipated that it would have been met, with the sentiment, that this is the work of an inferior order of the clergy; and that a character and talents are required for it, of a very subordinate class to those which are required for our pulpits, and for the more improved circles of our society. This, however, I think to be a great mistake. The office, in my view of it, inadequately as its duties are now performed, will give full scope for the energies of the best mind that can be obtained for it; and the good to be done in it, I am persuaded, is not to be exceeded in any other department of ministerial labor.

In the *first* place, allow me to say a few words respecting the character of the religious and moral instruction which is to be dispensed to the poor. What should this instruction be, and what is the character of the mind that is qualified to give it?

There is indeed, among the poor, great ignorance of moral and religious subjects; and in many, an obtuseness, and even an obduracy, which are greatly discouraging to a mind that is impatient for immediate success. And there are those who are not only indisposed to receive instruction, but who utterly reject it; whose improvement is yet to be sought, and may often be obtained. But are

such as these to be found only among the poor? Or, is it thought that there are none others than such as these among the poor? I have not found, indeed, among those of this class whom I visit, the high order of intellect, which exists in our religious congregations. But I have found those, who are not only serious, but sensible, and inquisitive. And I have found, too, sceptics, and infidels, who have thought themselves able to defend their doubts, and their unbelief. There is often, also, much error,—I mean practical error, and of a most dangerous character, in the minds of those who have been partially instructed, which requires at least some enlargement of mind, and some acquaintance with human nature, as well as benevolence and zeal, for their correction. Looking then only at this part of the service, I would ask, how much less of ministerial talent,—of ability to teach, of knowledge, judgment, moral power and moral character, are required for this department of the duty of a minister at large, than in the service of a minister in one of our congregations? Nay, I would inquire of any minister of our congregations, who is faithful to the poor of his flock,—solicitous to "feed them with knowledge and understanding,"—whether he often finds an opportunity for a better use of his attainments and his skill as a minister, among the intelligent and the rich, than is to be found among the poor of his charge? Others may not be affected by this view of the subject, as I am. But let them become better acquainted with the poor, and set themselves seriously to the work of their christian instruction, with a view to their largest possible comprehension of christian principles, and their greatest attainable improvement as disciples of Christ, and I will then consent to abide by their decision.

I would not, however, have a minister at large to be separated from his brethren around him in the ministry. I am not myself able to preach more than once on Sunday; nor could I even perform my evening service, if I were not assisted by the gentlemen who take a part in it with me. But I should be grateful to see this office taken into the charge of our religious congregations, and a minister at large ordained as an adjunct laborer with three or four other ministers, by whose societies he would be supported, and in whose pulpits he would preach successively half a day of every Sunday; his second service being in the evening, for the particular benefit of those of the poor who cannot attend public worship in the day. Let him have no other connexion with these societies, than that of an associate *preacher*, whose pastoral duties are to be wholly among those, who would otherwise have no pastor; and to these societies let him give his quarterly or semi-annual reports, which may be printed in whole, or in part, or kept in manuscript for future use, as circumstances may require. This division of the expense required for the support of such a minister, would make the burden to be light, very light, when compared with the magnitude of the benefits that would result from his ministry. This connexion with ministers at large would give an important relief to the clergy of our congregations, who often suffer greatly, and even lose their health, from the demands that are made upon them. It would do much to keep alive, and wisely to direct, the sympathy of our religious societies, in the wants and sufferings of the poor. And it would do more, I think, than could otherwise be done, to secure for the poor the services of pastors, whose labors would be at once a blessing to them, and to the city.

In the *second* place, if you will look at those departments of duty in this service, to one or more of which the attention of a minister at large may every day be called, which are not indeed wholly spiritual, but which are intimately connected with the best moral interests, both of the individual and of society, I think it will be perceived, that a Christian minister of very good gifts and acquisitions would not be wasting his mind in this employment of it.

The occasions are of very frequent occurrence, in which advice and assistance,—I do not here mean pecuniary assistance,—are wanted by the poor, in their secular affairs. This, it will be said, requires a man who knows the world, and who is connected with the world around him. And such I would have a minister at large to be. Not a man, indeed, who is engaged in trade, or merchandise; but one who will know how to avail himself of the facilities, which men in business can give him, of obtaining employment for the poor, of extricating them from temporary difficulties, and of bringing them into the way of self-support. There are cases, also, of great vice, and of great difficulty, in which a minister at large, whose character and station will command respect, may sometimes exert an influence, which is beyond the reach of the civil laws. He will become acquainted with many, who have suffered the penalties of law; and he may save some from these penalties, who would otherwise inevitably incur them. He will visit also in the families of those, who are confined for crime, and of those whose crimes, although they have not brought them to prison, are exposing those around them to the greatest dangers, and actually bringing upon them the greatest wretchedness.

And the vicious, let it be remembered, are not always the least acute, or discriminating; nor are they easily to be brought under the authority of minds, in measuring which with their own, they exult in a consciousness of superiority. And in the distribution of the alms that are entrusted to him, he will find, if he wishes not to do evil by the means that are committed to him for good, that the greatest watchfulness, and the soundest judgment, and discretion, and firmness, are constantly required. No man, except a dispensary physician, can know so well where alms should be given, and where they should not, as it can be known by a minister at large. Even he may for a time, though he will not very long, find his confidence abused. And not only will a great waste of money be prevented, by committing the distribution of it to men who are qualified for the office, but a great amount also of vice; while suffering is most effectually relieved, and the cause of virtue, and piety, and happiness is at the same time greatly advanced. And in the charge which a minister at large should feel of all the children in the section of the city in which he is to labor, who should be, but are not, in our schools, or who should be, but are not, in some useful employment; in bringing these children of the poor into Sunday Schools, and in assisting unhappy parents in the discipline and care of their children; he will have frequent and great demands, for the best practical wisdom, as well as for the best christian dispositions. He will find parents and children of this class, of a great diversity of character, and requiring thought, and judgment, and care, and energy, in order to meet the exigencies of their various conditions. I am well aware, that theological learning is not wanted for these services; and that they may be performed by one,

who would neither be a very able, nor a very popular preacher. But they do require, if they are to be well executed, a strong good sense, a knowledge of human nature, a discretion, and a decision of character, which can be trusted, and which will be *respected.* And if these qualifications for the ministry for which I plead can be found in one, whose theological attainments, and popularity as a preacher, would make him a welcome occasional assistant to the ministers of our congregations, would not the tax for his support be cheerfully sustained?

Once more; Permit me to say, that I am very desirous of obtaining men for this service, who will be able to add important contributions to the knowledge which is now possessed, on the very dark and difficult subject of poverty; its causes; its character; the most efficient means of its prevention; and the proper methods of relief, where relief is all that is to be sought, and is among the clearest and strongest of our duties.

Very much has been written, and by some of the ablest men of the last thirty years, upon poor's rates, and poor laws, and upon the causes and remedies of pauperism. But these have generally been treated merely as topics of political economy, and with reference to the existing and long established institutions, and the state of society, in Great Britain, and on the European continent. The poor have therefore too often been considered, either as a caste in society, against the ignorance and depravity of which it is necessary to guard by legislative provisions; or as a dead weight, which must indeed be supported, but the primary consideration in regard to which is, the cost, and even the immediate expense, to which it calls those who must sustain it. The whole subject, therefore

in those countries, is encumbered with many difficulties, which have hardly an existence among ourselves. Never, on the other hand, was there a state of society, or of institutions in a city, more favorable to the devising, and to the execution of measures, for the greatest practicable improvement of the character and condition of the poor, than are those by which our highly favored city is now distinguished. Nor do I believe that there exists anywhere a better disposition to every work of christian benevolence, if the object be but comprehended, and approved, and its feasibility be clearly manifested. Consider, also, who they are who have written concerning poverty, and the poor? Are they not, at least for the most part, men whose facts on these subjects have been obtained from the records alone of Police Courts, of prisons, and of alms houses? How many have studied them in the only manner, in which an enlarged and satisfactory knowledge can be obtained of them; I mean, by a long continued personal intercourse with all classes of the poor, and by acquainting themselves with all the various circumstances of their character and condition? I hesitate not to say, that it is only by writers of this description, that the public mind can be enlightened, and wisely guided, on these subjects. Far the largest number of the poor, and the class to be most essentially benefited, can be known only by visiting them at home. Some of them will suffer anything, rather than even ask for public charity; and a still greater number would not only die, rather than go to a poor house, but will certainly never come under the cognizance of any courts of justice. Poverty is indeed a subject, which is perplexed by difficulties, and, I will even add, by moral difficulties, so great, and often so very

embarrassing even to those who have given their best attention to it, that it is by no means surprising that the number is not large of those, who are disposed to follow the windings of the labyrinth, till they shall find its termination. But how may we hope that a thorough comprehension of the subject may be so effectually obtained, as by an able and faithful ministry at large, which will leave no family overlooked, or forgotten; of which it will be a specific object, to employ all practicable means of saving as many as possible from pauperism, and from unnecessary dependence on others; and by which facts will be collected, and published, for the examination of those who shall be qualified to discuss, and to decide respecting them?

I am well aware, that the great objection, which presses so strongly against almost every measure that has been proposed for improving the condition of the poor, will be adduced also against the proposition of a permanent city ministry for the poor. It will be said, that if this office be not directly, it may yet incidentally, be a means of increasing and of perpetuating pauperism. It is feared, that if too much shall be done for the poor among us, our city will be, even more than it now is, a centre of attraction to this class of the population of the country; and even to the poor foreigners who are landed upon our shores. I wish only that this, and that every other objection which can be brought against this measure, may be calmly and fairly considered, and I am persuaded that, of all the means that can be proposed for the prevention of pauperism, and for the greatest improvement of the character and condition of the poor, the ministry which I would obtain, if due care is taken in the selection of it,

will be the least liable to these objections. It is not to be forgotten in this connexion, that in proportion as our city increases in its numbers, the number of the poor will be increased; and that, in proportion as the poor are corrupt among us, this very corruption will itself become at once an encouragement, and a security, to the vilest that shall seek shelter in the city. It will itself be a centre of attraction to the most unprincipled, who cannot long practise iniquity with a high hand in the country, because the mass of the evil is not there great enough for their easy concealment, and their safety. To secure, however, the proper influence of a ministry at large, I must repeat, that the services will be required of not lèss than four protestants in the office, and of one from the Catholic church. Let these men be,—not narrow minded sectarians, but—men of enlarged and generous minds; and let them establish among themselves such principles, as men of this character may establish, of union, and of cooperation, and I believe that multitudes may be rescued from the gulf, into which they must otherwise fall; an impulse may be given to the poor, by which their best efforts for self-support will be secured; and relief will be administered in a manner at once the most economical, and effectual, to those who, if unrelieved, will either become a still heavier burden upon the charity of the community, or by their very wants be driven to crime. This office indeed, like any other, may be abused. Let it fall into the hands of those who are not fitted for it, and it will become despicable; or of the faithless, and it will increase the evil which it is intended to remedy. But appoint for it men who shall be qualified for all its services, and then will

the agents of our benevolent societies, as well as other benevolent individuals, know where to apply for the information, by which they may be most effectually secured against the impositions to which they are now constantly exposed. I verily believe, that the money which such a ministry would save to the city, would be far greater than the amount of all the salaries required for its proper maintenance.

I do not wish to give an undue importance to this office, or to claim for it talents which may be better appropriated to another service. But when I think of the number of the poor among us,—of whom I doubt not whether there are at least three thousand families which require this ministry; when I consider what I know of their moral wants, of their various difficulties and sufferings, and of the direct objects and claims of our religion concerning them; and when I think of the amount of good that may be done among them by an able and faithful ministry, which shall be devoted to their improvement; and of the increase of christian virtue to which I believe that it may be subservient among the rich, as well as among the poor; I do not think that I deceive myself, or that I may mislead others, in the demands that I would make for it. I have referred, on a former occasion, to the very great difference between the condition of the poor in cities, and the poor of those of our country towns, in which every family is under the care of a faithful minister. The difference is indeed much less between the city poor, and the poor of large villages, some of whom, like the poor in cities, are unknown to the ministers of those villages as a part of their flock. But it is of great importance

that it should be understood, that while a city like our own presents the spectacle of concentrated wealth, and activity, and enterprise, and may possess a watchful and energetic government, and to a casual observer may suggest in its stately temples, its schools, its athenæum, its market house, its spacious and comfortable habitations, its commerce, its mechanic arts, and the general appearance of its laborers, that here is combined all that can secure the order and happiness of a city life,—that this very city at the same time contains many thousands of poor, of whose condition and wants no adequate conception can be formed, but by visiting them in their *homes;* and that if they are either to be brought under the influences of our religion, or are to be judiciously advised or assisted in their difficulties and wants, it must be by those, who will become intimately acquainted with them in their homes. It is in vain to say, let them unite themselves with our religious societies, and come under the pastoral care of their ministers. Many of them *will not*, who yet may be checked, and improved, and perhaps saved from temporal and spiritual ruin, by the services of a minister whom they will respect, and who will not be discouraged from endeavors for their salvation. And there are many who *cannot* go to church in the day. There are many very poor, but well disposed widows, who have the charge of young children whom they cannot leave ; and many who have not the attire in which they can go out on Sunday. And there are many wives, whose husbands, instead of supporting their families, are alternately their burden and their scourge ; and by whom Sunday is made to their family the most wretched day of the week. And even of

a large number, who worship now in one, and now in another of our congregations, changing their church more than once a year, in their removals from one section of the city to another, it is still true, that they are, and, without the ministry I would obtain, will continue to be, without a pastor; for they are not long enough in any society, to be known to its minister; nor, except in cases of extreme illness, or of a funeral, are they visited by any of the ministers of our churches.

I am greatly sorry, indeed, to be obliged to speak of what I think to be the qualifications for this office; but I know not how I can otherwise obtain for it the support, which I think will be required, and justly too, by men who are competent to its duties. But I would as willingly see in it a man of feeble nerves, as one of a feeble intellect, and a dull proser from house to house; except, indeed, in the consolatory assurance which I should have respecting the former, that he would soon abandon the service. I doubt not, indeed, that the time will come, when the importance of this ministry will be felt, and when this office will be established, in all the cities of christendom; for it is by this means only that the claims of our religion for the poor can be answered, and its objects respecting them accomplished. The call of the gospel is not more distinct for the ministry of our churches, than it is for this service. And if I could be so happy as to see it well begun among us, by the ordination of one or two, who will bring to the work the physical and mental powers which it requires, and who will do for a few years, what I am sure is practicable in it, I should have as little fear for its perpetuity, as I should for the ministration from our pulpits.

In giving to you a report, which you will probably publish, I am desirous that it shall be as short as I can make it, consistently with my feelings in relation to the objects to which I wish to call the attention of the public. These are, the appointment of coadjutors with me in this service; and, my own provision with the means of assisting and relieving the suffering poor. I have said as little as I am willing to say for the first object. And in view of the second, I would offer a few statements, of the actual condition of the poor among us. There is a great diversity in the characters and conditions, the wants and sufferings, of this portion of our community. A few examples with which I am supplied by a recurrence to my records, are all that will be given under each of the divisions of them which I shall notice.

1. There are *virtuous widows, who are able to do but little for the support of their families.* They are broken by infirmities, and they have young children who must be fed and clothed, and whom they are very desirous of keeping at school. Some of them have also young children who require their constant care at home. Let us look in upon some of them.

One of this class is so feeble, that she can do but little work of any kind, and is principally dependent on the eldest of three daughters who live with her. This daughter, who is a very faithful child, earns one dollar and seventyfive cents, and sometimes two dollars a week, when she is constantly supplied with work by the tailors who employ her. Her two sisters are kept at school. But even when they are at home, as they are in the winter, they can do but little for the support of th

family. Sometimes, however, work is not to be obtained; and sometimes it is so much interrupted by sickness, that the weekly income then also necessarily fails.—Another has four children. The eldest is a fine lad, who has just begun his career as a sailor, and promises to be the future support of the family. The mother is a washerwoman, and with the extremest difficulty can pay the rent, and give bread to her children. She is sometimes obliged to keep her young children from school, because she cannot supply them with clothes and books. If one of her children is sick, she can of course earn nothing; and if she is herself confined by sickness, it is easy to conceive what must be her own, and the wants and sufferings of her family.—And another has also four children, the eldest of whom is about ten years old; and the youngest, now an infant, was born three months after the death of its father. Her constitution is so delicate, that she is utterly incapable of hard labor; and with her needle, and the charge of her children, she can earn but seventyfive cents a week. Each of these,—and there are others like them —are very deserving families. I found them, as indeed I found all to whom I shall refer you, without a pastor. And ought they not to have one? Ought they not to be more closely linked, than they have been, by the sympathies of our religion, with the more favored classes of society about them?

2. There are *virtuous husbands and wives, who are incapable of making entire provision for their families.*

In one family, which I visit, of this class of the poor, both the husband and the wife are suffering from a disease, which is probably incurable. I have known them

almost two years; and, during a considerable portion of this time, neither of them has been able to labor. They are both, however, disposed to do all that they can for their own support, and often suffer greatly from the exertions which they make, that they may not unnecessarily be dependent on charity. Their rent is a dollar a week, and they have four children to be fed, and clothed, and educated.—In another of this class of families, the husband has an organic disease of the heart, and the support of the family devolves principally on the wife. He has been a mason; but now sews upon slop work with his wife for an hour or two of the day. They have five children; one, a very young infant; and one of about two years old, who is so feeble and sickly a child, as to require almost the incessant attention of the mother.—And in another, the feeble husband and wife, by their united exertions, can pay their rent, and obtain decent food and clothing, except when visited by sickness. But during the sickness of the husband, or wife, or child, they must greatly suffer, if not assisted by the bounty of those who are able to relieve them.—And another of these families consists of a husband, and wife, and six children. The children are all young, and the wages of the husband will not always meet the absolute necessities of the family. It is, however, only in the winter that they ask for any assistance,—except in a time of sickness.—And in another, the parents have lost one of their children, after a long sickness, in each of the three last years. And not only is expense increased during sickness, but a mother's whole care, and some at least of the father's, is then required for the charge of their children.

3. There are very *virtuous single women*, who cannot provide for their own necessities.

Of this class I visit one, who was formerly a nurse, but who has suffered from an incurable lameness during the last seven years. She lives in a room with another single woman, who supports herself by her own industry, and daily ministers to the comfort of her companion, with no wish for any other reward, than the approbation of God, and the happiness of doing good. This aged nurse has expended all that she had earned, and is wholly dependent on the bounty of her friends.—I visit also another, who has just sight enough to go safely through the house in which she lives, but not enough for any use of her needle; and who has not strength, even if her sight were sufficient, for any laborious occupation.—And another, who lives in one of the oldest, and most cheerless rooms in the city; and who could not live, if she were not sometimes aided by the hand of kindness.—I know of but one or two more of this class; and although they have less to endure than the mothers of young children, who are looking to them for bread which they know not where to obtain, yet if their condition is well understood, it will be felt to be one that is not to be disregarded.

4. There are *aged and virtuous poor husbands and wives*, who are doing what they can for self-support, but who are unable to provide for their daily wants.

In one family of this class, the husband, through infirmity, is merely capable of feeding himself, and is obliged to pass a considerable part of every day upon his bed. The wife, though younger than her husband, and generally able to do the work of her own room, is scarcely able to do more; and has recently been confined by a

long sickness. A son, who is a journeyman mechanic, pays their rent. But he has lately been kept at home by a sickness of thirteen weeks; and the rent of this time he has to make up from his future wages, which are scarcely more than sufficient for his own necessities.—In another family, the feeble husband, who is seventysix years old, and is nearly blind, during the last summer was thrown from the side-walk into the street, by a man who was hastily passing him, and was so much injured by the fall, that he has ever since been confined to his bed, and will never go out again. His aged and infirm wife is his nurse. They live in a room which measures about eight feet by ten.—Another family consists of a very aged mother, and her daughter. The mother is wholly unable to labor; and the daughter, who is a very deserving woman, can do only very light work; and so little even of that, that she cannot earn enough to provide food for herself and her mother.—In another family, a daughter is doing all that she can to support a mother, who is more than eighty years old, and who must either be retained in the charge of this daughter, or go to the House of Industry. But who will not sympathize with this aged mother, in her wish to pass the short remnant of her days with her child? Or who will not sympathize with the daughter, in her wish to have the charge of her aged and broken mother? And yet they cannot live together, unless they are occasionally assisted by the bounty of others.—And in another is an aged mother, who is a very great sufferer. She, too, is nursed by a daughter. A crippled son is also a dependent in this family. This widow is not only very poor, but from her very distressed condition has strong demands upon kindness.

5. Another division consists of *aged widows, who have feeble or sick children, or utterly incapable relatives dependent upon them.*

One of these widows has a daughter, who is in an almost constant state of mental derangement; and the only relief which is experienced from this distressing condition is, a recovery to a state of childlike understanding, and of almost infantile helplessness. This daughter is about thirty years old, and requires the whole time and care of her mother. The mother is a very poor, and a very worthy woman, and is the only nurse of her child.—Another has four children; a widowed daughter, who is in a very feeble state of health; a son, who is a sailor, and who is a most affectionate child and brother; and two younger daughters. She has also a brother who lives with her, who is forty years old, who has had epileptic fits from his early childhood, and who has been an idiot more than thirty years. This poor creature is as dependent as a child of three years old, and receives from his sister the attentions and services that are required by a child. The mother is very infirm, but very industrious; and would never ask for assistance, if the united labors of her family would supply her with the necessaries of life.—Another aged widow has the charge of an idiot daughter, who is about thirty years old. This child was also brought to idiocy by epilepsy.—Another has a son of about fifteen years old, who is so enfeebled and deformed by disease, that he is, and will be, capable of but few employments.—And another has a daughter, who has long been lingering under a complication of diseases, which has made her helpless, and requiring the constant care of her mother, who has no other means of daily support than her daily labors.

6. Another division of the poor consists of *women, who, in addition to their other afflictions, have deranged husbands.*

By the wretched condition of two deranged men whom I found in the cells of the House of Correction, I was induced to seek out their families. For one of these men, provision has been made by the city for his board at the Asylum in Charlestown. His wife is an infirm woman, and cannot, by her daily labors, pay her rent, and obtain food for herself and her child. The other of these men has been sent home, because it was thought that he was so far reduced by sickness, that he would live but a few days. But under the nursing of his wife, he has recovered his strength, without recovering his reason; and his young children are daily hearing from him the most profane, and disgusting language, which can be uttered by man. In my last visit to his family, I was sent from his house by a threat, which it would not have been safe to disregard. His wife can literally do nothing for the support of the family; and they are so poor, as to be entirely dependent on the kindness of others.—I visit also in another family, the husband of which is *in prison for insanity!* His wife's hands are sometimes so much swollen by rheumatism, that she cannot use a needle. She has with her a daughter, fourteen years old, who is also subject to severe rheumatism; and four children under six years of age, two of whom are twin infants, and one of these children is in a dreadful state of disease. Of the opulent and humane among us, I implore mercy for these families. Can no better provision be made for the poor, when they become deranged, than the cells, or rooms, of a common prison? I am sorry to feel myself obliged to state, that

there are now two men, and one woman, in the House of Correction, and one in our Jail, as *Lunatics!* This is a matter, which demands immediate attention. The character of our city, as well as the cause of humanity, is concerned in it. I hardly know whether more sympathy is demanded for the poor being, who, in a state of mental derangement, is confined in one of the cells of the House of Correction; or for his family, when they must have the charge of him at home.

7. There are *poor families which have known better days*, and who, in their poverty, have retained their virtue.

Of this division of the poor, I visit an aged and respected couple, who are principally supported by the industry of two feeble daughters. The husband is too infirm for any but very light work, very little of which is to be obtained; and his wife is suffering under a very distressing, and probably an incurable disease.—I visit another very aged couple, who are both daily employed in the work by which the husband was formerly able to provide well for his family. They now obtain by it a bare subsistence during the summer, and while they are able to work. And in winter, if they have their usual health, they require little other assistance than in obtaining fuel. But sickness brings them at once to an absolute state of want.—Another aged man, who does what he can, generally earns by his work twelve cents a day. Two daughters, however, contribute the fruits of their exertions for his support. But by the labors of the whole family they do but live; and in the winter, they cannot live without charity.—In another family of this class is

an infirm mother, who has the charge of seven children. Her husband was once engaged in trade, and possessed enough to inspire some confidence of prosperity and independence. But by a series of events, which were beyond his control, he was brought to poverty. This man's reputation for uprightness has not, I believe, been questioned. But by his best efforts, he finds it very difficult to provide a home and food for his family.

8. There are well-disposed and industrious *young husbands and wives, who begin their married life, as they think, with good prospects, who have, however, made little or no provision for a family, and who live very comfortably till they are visited with sickness.* I refer to the families of journeymen mechanics, and of others who depend upon the wages of their daily labors. The ruin of such families may often be followed back to the debts, which were incurred during a time of protracted illness. They are not objects of charity, while they are in health; and they do not look for it. But if not sometimes assisted in the time of sickness, they are in great danger of falling into the lowest class of paupers.

9. There are also *wives whose husbands have deserted them;* and others, whose husbands have left home to seek for employment abroad, but from whom, after a year, or eighteen months, or two years, no information has been received. The families that are so left are often brought to great want and suffering.

Of this division of the poor, I visit one mother who has with her three children; one, a sickly boy of ten years old, and twin infants of about fifteen months old.—Another has five children at home, the youngest of whom is less than a year old.—And another has three young

children. Each of these families is very destitute.—Another, who is remarkably capable as a seamstress, and quite as industrious, has supported her family till lately, when she has suffered from a long confinement by sickness.—Another is the wife of a man, who failed in business, and has absconded. The family consists of this wife, an aged mother, a boy nine years old, who is in a lawyer's office, and two other children, one of whom is two years, and the other ten months old. This family I found in a state of great want and suffering.—And another has struggled through seven years of desertion, till her constitution is enfeebled by labor, and it is with the greatest difficulty that she keeps herself from dependence on charity.—And another has five children, to be supported by her own, and the industry of the eldest. They can sometimes earn two dollars a week, one of which, however, must be paid for rent. But work is not always to be had, nor have they always health to do it.

But this detail is carrying me beyond the limits, within which I should confine myself in a report. I will therefore only add on this subject, without giving examples, that there are greatly afflicted parents, some of whom are widows, and some who are very worthy, to whom the greatest kindness which they can receive is, the assistance which they need in the charge of truant, of obstinately disobedient, and vagrant children. The number is large, far larger than would be imagined, of such children in our city. Many of them, though not all, are children of parents, from the corrupting influence of whose conversation and habits, it would have been truly wonderful if their children had escaped uncontaminated. Some of these lads are intemperate; almost all of them

are very profane; and a large part of them are guilty of petty thefts, at the ages of eleven, twelve, and thirteen years. Can there be a better charity, as far as the public, as well as themselves are concerned, than in well-directed and vigorous endeavors for the rescue of these children from the ruin, which, if they are neglected but a little longer, will be inevitable? The School of Reformation at South Boston is doing much for several of this class of lads.* But neither all, nor the greatest number

* I addressed a note to the Rev. Mr Wells, superintendent of the School of Reformation at South Boston, in which I proposed to him a number of inquiries respecting that institution. And as he has authorized me to use his reply to my note in any manner which I shall think proper, I gratefully avail myself of the opportunity here to publish the substance of it.

"The School of Reformation was opened on the 21st of September, 1826. I began my services in it on the 5th of November, 1827. Seventythree were then in the school, and eightyfour have since been received into it. Since that time, the average number has been about ninetythree. The ages of the children are from eight to sixteen years. The average of their ages is about eleven. Within the time that I have been here, fiftyfour have been apprenticed. Of these fiftyfour, five have been returned as bad boys; four have left their places through disaffection, and have returned here voluntarily; and two have left without returning. The remaining fortythree were, at the last accounts, doing well. Of those recommended as good boys, only one has proved to be bad. Most of them are giving the fullest satisfaction. Three hours and a half of the day are occupied in the instructions of the school room; six in work; and three quarters of an hour are allowed for play in the morning, again at noon, and again at the close of the day. We have two religious services on Sunday; one on Wednesday evening; and morning and evening prayers daily.

"Beside the usual work of the house and garden, the willow basket work, palm-leaf hat making, broom making and tailoring, have been the branches of business carried on. The boys do all

of them, will be sent there. And beside these, there are many others who do not commit offences, which will bring them within the cognizance of law, whose ruin, if they are not stayed in their course, is certain. Is it asked

their own cooking, table work, washing, scouring, chamber work, and all that belongs to *house work;* so that only one domestic is employed in the house, and she does the work of our private family.

"Most people imagine, when they see, or hear of bad boys, that they are a worse kind of boys, worse by nature than others. If my observation be of any value on this subject, it is not so; for though at first there be strong sproutings of evil principle and passion to be lopped off, and rank weeds of sin to be rooted up, yet when this is done, we find here as good a stock, and as rich a soil, as in other cases. Some of our boys have been without parents to guide them; the parents of others were unworthy of the name; the parents of some have wished, but knew not how, to restrain their children; and some knew not how to be kind, without the utmost weakness of indulgence; or to be strict, without being severe. These boys fell into the company of idlers, more wicked than themselves; became wild, lawless, and profane; were attracted to the theatre, and led to petty thefts to obtain the amusement to be found there; and were rapidly passing from sin to sin, in the way to irretrievable ruin. But, however bad a boy may be, he can always be reformed, while he is under fifteen years old; and very often after that age; and he who has been reckoned, and treated, as if incapable of anything like honesty and honor, may be made worthy of the most entire confidence. We have sent our boys to the city more than three hundred times, and only three have refused to return regularly. Indeed, they oftener return before, than after the appointed hour. We send them out on business of importance, and commit to them money, and other property, and they have never abused the trust we have thus placed in them. We commit to them keys of the utmost value to us, and but in one instance was there a dishonorable advantage taken; and then it was soon repented of, and a voluntary return to duty followed. Thus, sir, we live together as a family of brethren, cheerful, happy, confiding; and, I trust, in a greater or less degree,

what can be done for these parents and children? I answer, the greatest possible good, which either public or private charity can extend to them, will be, the establishment of a ministry, in which each of these parents will find a devoted pastor, and an efficient friend; for, if he have at once the kindness, and decision, and perseverance which are required in this office, he may bring unspeakable gladness to the hearts of many of the parents, and be to many of their children for salvation.—There are also families, which call loudly for sympathy, the husbands of which are in prison. Sometimes, in these families, the wife may not be better than the husband. But ought the children therefore to awaken in us no interest for them? Sometimes, however, as I know, the wife may be as deserving, as the husband is vicious.—There are also inefficient, and thriftless husbands and wives, the effluvium

pious. Thus our institution assumes the nature of *a school of moral discipline.*"

I cannot close this note, without availing myself of the opportunity of commending this institution to the inquiries, and to the personal inspection and examination, of the intelligent and philanthropic of our city. Let its true character and influences be understood, and it will be regarded alike as one of the most important of the instruments of an enlarged political economy, and one of the most precious of the means of accomplishing the great objects of our religion. It deserves, and should have, the hearty support of our whole community. I think that it is still susceptible of some improvements, in some of the general principles upon which it is established; though I can hardly conceive that it should be more wisely ordered, than it is by its present able and excellent superintendent. I am glad to be able to pay him this tribute of my gratitude and affection, as one of the best benefactors of our city; for I know his devotion to his duty, and I have seen the inestimable results of his labors.

of whose rooms is sometimes even more offensive, than is their filth to the eye; and on whom charity would perhaps be worse than wasted, except as it is doled out in the necessaries of life, in the times of their most pressing want.—And, to proceed no further, there are many, very many families, whose sin and misery are peculiarly to be ascribed to *intemperance*. The great, the peculiar curse of our land indeed is, the facility with which ardent spirits can be obtained, even by the poorest amongst us. Some, who will hardly work more than is necessary to obtain a few cents a day, thus earn enough to make themselves pests to their neighborhood, and demons in their families. It is very painful even to speak of the vice and suffering, that are to be seen in the habitations of some of this class of the poor. I have heard from one and another of the maddened beings, who were themselves dependent for shelter and for bread on their wives, whom they were covering with abuse, those terrible screamings of profane expressions, in the utterance of which, the utmost powers of the voice have been called forth; and of which I can conceive of no other resemblance, than in that which we are sometimes told of the language of the finally condemned. There are cases, in which both the husband and the wife are intemperate. But there are cases, too, in which the most outrageously wicked and abusive husbands have most exemplary wives, by whose toils their families are kept together, and as far as is possible, saved from dependence. But the worst of these families ought not to be neglected. They ought not to be without a faithful pastor. I know men, who, fifteen months ago were broken down by intemperance, but who, for more than a year past, have not only been temperate,

but have not tasted ardent spirits. And I know others, who have begun, and are carrying on, a contest with this appetite, and who have done much for their recovery from its power. But even where the drunkard is not to be recovered, much, very much may be done for the comfort and encouragement of his family, and much to save his children from destruction. For objects like these, shall I plead with our public in vain ?

It is thought by some, that in a community like ours, every one who is honest, temperate and industrious, may always obtain the means of a comfortable support for a family. And it is generally true, that such as these may, for the most part, keep themselves from dependence on charity. But this is not always the case. Widows, and wives on whom devolves the whole charge of a family, cannot always find employment. The wages, too, for which they work, are generally so small, that with their best endeavors, in a time of health, very many of them can but pay their rent, and obtain the simplest food and clothing. Some, when they can get it, pick dry rope, or oakum, or hair, by which the most industrious get from twentyfive to thirty or forty cents a day. About the same amount, according to their ability in the work, is earned by making cigars, and by binding hats and shoes. Very many are employed in making the clothes, that are sold in the slop shops ; but there are very few, who are constantly supplied with this work. For making coarse shirts, they have eight cents each ; and from eight to ten for making duck pantaloons, and truckmen's frocks. Some of those who are so employed cannot, with their best exertions, and with the care of their children, earn more than twelve and a half cents, or seventeen cents a day;

some will earn a quarter of a dollar ; and a few, who have uncommon ability, even fifty cents a day. For the thicker and heavier apparel of seamen, a larger sum is paid. But the work is hardly more profitable to those who do it. The number is great of those, with whom, sometimes, it is not practicable to get either this, or any other kind of work. Now let the condition of these families, during a time of sickness, be seriously considered. Their rent, generally a dollar, or a dollar and a quarter a week, and often more, where the family is large, must still be paid. And no provision has been made, and in some cases no provision could have been made, for this time of suffering. O that they, who are living at ease in their possessions, and to whose families sickness brings no earthly want, which they are not at once able, and even without the smallest self-denial, to supply, could but fully comprehend what is often endured by the poor, when their families are visited by long and distressing disease ! If a poor mother, with three, or four, or five young children, is brought to her bed by sickness, a nurse, at once for the charge of herself and her family, may be quite as important for her recovery, either as medicine, or the attendance of a physician. But this is an indulgence altogether unattainable, unless one is provided by private bounty. And if sickness come either to a father, or a mother, or a child, among the very poor, the absolutely necessary expenses of the family are nearly doubled, by the extraordinary supply which is demanded of wood and oil, and for that provision for the wants of the sufferer, which is as essential for him as is bread for his children. With devout gratitude to God, I remember the multitude of cases, in which I have been enabled, through the bounty

of those who have supplied my poor purse, to meet and to answer these various exigencies of extreme suffering. And if any contributor to it will accompany me through some of the scenes through which I pass, in the abodes of the sick poor, I am sure that his heart will be gladdened by a remembrance of his charity. He, too, will bless God, that he has been an instrument of so much relief and comfort; and, it is not improbable, that the remembrance of it may be among the happiest of his recollections, when he shall himself lie upon the bed of disease, and shall know by experience the value of the relief which he has thus extended to those, who otherwise might not have received it.

Our Lord Jesus Christ came *to seek*, as well as to save, them that are lost. And, let it not be forgotten, that in the cities of Christendom there are hundreds of thousands, who, if they are ever to be brought within the saving influences of Christianity,—if the gospel is to be preached to them—must be *sought out*. The cry is indeed repeated every week from the corners of our streets, and so it should be, "come in, that my house may be filled." But there are many by-paths, many lanes and alleys, many abodes of want and suffering, to which it reaches not. And is it the will of our Father in heaven, who regards not the rich more than the poor, that one of *these little ones*,—who cannot, or it may be are not disposed to, enter our temples—*should perish?* And how shall the gospel be preached to them, but by a ministry that shall be exclusively devoted to them? In a city like ours, there should not be a habitation, which is not visited by a Christian Pastor; not a family, to which the service of a Christian Pastor are not offered. This object i

practicable, and the good that would result from its attainment would be incalculable. I do not say, that every family would gladly accept the visits of such a pastor. But I fear not to affirm, that not more than one family in a hundred would reject them; and, that many hundreds would receive them most gratefully. Nor do I say, that all desirable good would be so obtained. There would still be unreached, and unrelieved wretchedness. But this, compared with that which now exists among us, would be small. It would, too, be that wretchedness, almost exclusively, which is connected with gross vice; and for the remedies of which, we must wait for circumstances in the providence of God, which will bring the subjects of it into a state, in which they may be affected by moral influences. And then will the services of a minister at large be duly appreciated. With the opulent, then,—the men of influence among us,—with those who at once believe our religion, and have the means of establishing this ministry, I leave the appeal, *where lies the responsibility if it be not established?*

My best thanks are due, and I am glad of an opportunity to give them, to the contributors to my poor's purse. Several of these benefactors to myself and to the poor are wholly unknown to me. Their favors have come to me with no other information, than that of the fact, that they were designed "for" my "poor's purse." To "the Ladies' Sewing Circle," also, I am much indebted for very efficient aid in my labors. My book of receipts and expenditures may be examined at any time, by any one who has committed any money to my disposal.

I have the gratification to be able to inform you, that by a subscription that was obtained for the purpose, a new

lecture room, or chapel, has been built for me, and will very soon be used for our evening's service. Since the heat of summer has passed, our present lecture room has been well filled, inconvenient as is the access to it, and poor as are the accommodations with which we are furnished there. To the subscribers for our new place of worship, I beg leave to offer my very sincere gratitude. I believe that they have done an important service to the cause of our religion among us. Many have been gathered for worship with us on Sunday evening, who would otherwise have worshipped no where; and I doubt not whether there are those among them, who have thus been advanced in their preparation for a better world. I owe also, and will not fail to pay, my thanks to the gentlemen, without whose assistance in the conduct of them, the exercises of the lecture room could not have been maintained. To my whole services indeed, through the two past years, I recur with the warmest thanksgiving to God, in the conviction that these have been far the most useful years of my life. The harvest in the field in which I am employed is plenteous, and rich are the compensations to be found in it. May the Lord of the harvest send forth other laborers, by whose devotion to the work of saving and blessing the poor, our city may be made glad in all its families, and be a mountain of holiness, and a light to the world!

Within the last six months I have made upwards of fifteen hundred pastoral visits; and more than a hundred have been added to the number of families, with which I have become connected in my ministry.

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, November 5, 1828.

(8)

MR TUCKERMAN'S

FIRST SEMIANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

THIRD YEAR OF HIS SERVICE

AS A MINISTER AT LARGE

IN BOSTON.

BOSTON,
LEONARD C. BOWLES, 50 WASHINGTON STREET.
1829.

BOSTON,
Press of Isaac R. Butts.

REPORT.

To

The Executive Committee of the

American Unitarian Association.

Gentlemen,

In reviewing the last few months, my heart is filled with gratitude to God for the privileges of the ministry in which I have been engaged. Two years and a half ago, when I began this service, I had a very inadequate idea of the condition of the poor in a city. I had passed the preceding five and twenty years in a small parish in the country, where, as in all our country parishes, the poorest are equally objects of pastoral care and interest as the rich. I knew, indeed, that this could not be the case, to the same extent, in the city. But I had no conception that the number was so great as I have found it to be, of those who have no regular connexion with our churches; and who have lived, or are living, wholly without a ministry, except when they ask for the performance of a funeral service; or, it may be, when they send for a minister to assist them in their preparation for death. In passing from house to house, as I did through the first six months of my ministry, to seek out this class of our population, and to offer to them my services as a christian pastor, I was encouraged, at almost every step of my way, by the gratitude and affection of those

whom I visited; and I soon received the most satisfactory evidence, how much this ministry was needed, and to what important good it might be conducive. I found that there were those, who required only this pastoral care to bring them into a connexion with our churches, from which would result the most important benefits to their characters and happiness. But I found also that there were very many, for whom it would be quite as practicable to build palaces for their residence, as to bring them into any permanent union with our religious societies. There are many widows who have young children, whom they cannot leave on Sunday. There are wives who are deserted by their husbands, and wives whose husbands are at sea, who are equally kept at home by the same cause. There are many also who cannot, or who, till they are brought to a greatly improved state of character, will not go to church, from a want of the decent attire in which they may appear in our congregations. And there are those whom the habit of remaining at home on Sunday has not only reconciled to the practice, but with whom the indulgences of Sunday, even more than of any other day of the week, are at war with all christian associations with the day, and with all christian employments on it. There are even those among us, with whom Sunday is, beyond comparison, the worst day of the week; the day of most outrageous offence against the laws both of God and man. For these, and for others that might be named, a ministry is required, by which our religion shall be carried from house to house: by which these classes of our poor shall have the gospel preached, in the only way in which it can possibly be preached to them, as individuals, or as

families, and in their homes ; by which its light can be carried into the darkest places, and into the darkest hearts ; by which its consolations and its encouragements may be extended to those, who are most in need of them, and who cannot otherwise have them. I have no language in which to express the gratitude I feel, that when I was obliged to relinquish a pulpit, the labors of which I had not strength to perform, it pleased God to bring me into a service here, to the claims and interests of which, had I understood them thirty years ago, I would most gladly, and in preference to all other services, have consecrated the beginning of my energies, and the whole of my days.

I know that every object which either has in itself any considerable claims, or which, without these claims, has long engaged very close, and perhaps almost exclusive attention, gradually assumes in the mind which thus dwells upon it, an interest, which is very often disproportioned to its real importance; and that there is no small danger, in attempting to engage public sympathy in any cause, that we may be carried, by the strength of our own emotions, beyond the line to which others may be prepared to follow, and within which they may be willing to cooperate with us. But I think I am not extravagant in my views of the claims of the ministry which I wish to see established among us for the poor ; and I am certainly desirous, whatever may be my own convictions in regard to them, not to press these claims beyond the ground on which they may be supported by unquestionable facts. Nor, when I speak of the moral necessities of the poor, do I mean to imply that they are greater than those of the rich. They are not. Nor is

there any essential difference in the character of these necessities, in these great classes of the community. Among the richest, the most favored, there are the same weaknesses, the same evil propensities and passions, and often equal, though very different exposures to sin, and, sometimes, equal sin and misery, as are to be found among the poor. There are those among the rich, who, by their principles, and tempers, and habits, as effectually cut themselves off from the influences and interests, the supports and happiness of religion, as even the poorest and most debased are cut off from them, by the degradation to which they have reduced both their bodies and their minds. But in comparing these great classes of society, in view of their moral necessities, who is not struck with the immense disproportion between them, in regard to the provision which is made for these deepest and strongest wants of our nature? Or who does not feel how much we are indebted for the virtue, and security, and order, and happiness of our social condition, to our ministers, and our churches? When I consider, then, that it is not a matter of doubt with any who have thought seriously upon the subject, whether there are many hundreds of families, even in our highly favored city, who have no regular connexion with any of our religious societies, and who are not felt by any minister to be a part of his pastoral charge, to be regularly visited and taught, where alone they can be taught, *at their homes*;—when I look at the fact, of which a little reflection will convince any one, that a city, as it grows, will certainly collect within itself a full proportion of that class, which must depend for subsistence upon their daily labors, and a large number of whom, either from in-

dolence, or the failure of work, or sickness, or other causes, will be falling into a state of want, and dependence, and of moral exposures proportioned to these wants ;—and when I bring before my mind the consideration, which is equally obvious, that while much of the wretchedness of the poverty around us is attributable immediately to sin, and especially to intemperance, it is yet equally true that poverty, unaided, unbefriended, is in its turn the prolific parent of crime and misery ;—and when I follow these poor to their houses, and see the narrow space within which their families are confined, and the greatness of the suffering which is there endured in sickness ; when I witness their peculiar difficulties in the exercise of domestic discipline, even when they are most strongly desirous to maintain it ; when I see how bitter is the distress which is often felt under the pressure of their embarrasments, when they cannot earn the means of support ; and when I see the greater trials, and far greater sufferings, which are brought upon many, by the vices to which they have abandoned themselves ; the wretchedness occasioned to a virtuous family by the gross vice of one of its members ; and when, in this connexion, I hear Jesus Christ saying, "the spirit of the Lord is upon me, *because he hath appointed me to preach the gospel to the poor ;*"* I cannot but feel that, in view both of these words of him whom we call Master and Lord, and of the moral condition of these multitudes of our fellow-beings who are so near to us, and to whom his gospel can be preached only by ministers peculiarly separated for this service, the claims of this ministry are as strong at least as are those of the ministry which belongs to our parishes, and our churches. These claims,

*Luke iv. 18.

I am happy to know, are now widely felt, and distinctly acknowledged among us. A better evidence of the favorable state of public sentiment on this subject could not have been given, than the appointment which has recently been made by the Church Missionary Society, of a second minister at large for our city.

My ministry, during the past year, has been confined to about three hundred and fifty families. I have, however, since I have been in this service,—that is, during the last thirty months,—been connected, I suppose, in a greater or less degree, with about five hundred families. In these families there are those, who, a year, or two years ago, were living in the debasement and wretchedness of confirmed intemperance, and are now temperate, industrious, respected, and happy. And if I looked to these alone, small as is their number, as the compensations of my ministry, they would abundantly repay me for my labors. But the effects of it, in my own opinion, are scarcely less interesting and important, which are even of every day occurrence. It would be easy to fill many sheets with the details of them; but it is not easy to speak of them in a paragraph. I refer to the benefits which are extended by it to large numbers among the poor, who want that which those in more favored conditions with comparative ease obtain; I mean, a friend to whom they may resort as an adviser in their difficulties. This friend the poor find in their minister. And the minister, in his turn, finds in this intercourse, opportunities he could otherwise hardly obtain, of rendering even more important services than were sought; for he can call forth, and strengthen principles in the mind, of the highest importance to character and happiness here and here-

after. The occasions are thus constantly occurring, of suiting instruction to the wants,—the necessities of individuals. Here light may be, and is imparted, and encouragement, and comfort, of no small importance to those who receive them. There are indeed those among the poor, who have as strong a sense of character as is felt by any among us; and others who have that which is of infinitely greater worth, a deep and strong sense of christian obligation. But there are many among them, also, who feel themselves to be connected with society around them, by no other bond than that of their animal wants. And are they to be despised, and neglected, and left to the recklessness of ungoverned appetite and passion? I am called, likewise, to see sickness, under very different circumstances from those in which it is endured by the more favored classes of society; and to visit the anxious, and doubting, and fearful, and those who are suffering the anguish of disappointed hopes, and who need all that our religion can administer for their support and consolation. Nor is it, I think, a circumstance of small account, that I have placed and kept children in our schools, who would otherwise have been vagrants in our streets; and that unspeakable comfort has been given to many a parent, in the assistance I have rendered to them in regard to their children.—I do not like thus to speak of my ministry; for I should much prefer to perform its duties quietly, and without any notice, but from those who are the subjects of it. But the occasion seems to demand this explicitness; and this must be my apology, if, in the opinion of any, I have said more than seems to them to have been required respecting it.

It is a solemn consideration, that in all the cities of

the world, and in all times, there has been a growth of pauperism, and of its attendant vices, proportioned to the growing population and wealth of these cities; and that pauperism in our country, and under our civil institutions, in a time of great distress, or of great political excitement, if it should extend with us as it has extended elsewhere, will, and must be a very different affair from pauperism in similar circumstances in any part of the old world. Under a despotism, or even under a limited monarchy, as that of England, the power of a mob is soon broken by the strong arm of military law. The cries of many ten thousands, in their wants, may be heard almost without alarm; or, should this mob be driven to desperation by their necessities, they can but begin the work of anarchy and revolt. They can but rarely effect any important change in the character, or even in the measures of government. It will still be able to crush them. It is not so with us. The pauperism of England, if extended to America, might soon overturn the most valuable of our institutions. I was in England in 1816. It was a year of great distress among the poor. The manufacturers had been compelled to dismiss a large part of their workmen; and great multitudes from the recently reduced army and navy, had been thrown upon the country. At that time I was told in Birmingham, that 20,000 in a night, of those who were unemployed, and who could not obtain the employment by which they might support their families, assembled to consult upon the means of relief; and in Manchester, that the number of discontents thus nightly brought together was not probably less than 30,000. Ought we not to be alive to the possibility of our own exposure to this, or to similar evils? Ought we not, while

we may with some rational hope of protection against them, to consider how these evils are to be most effectually avoided? And, if all mere political expedients have failed, as I believe that, to a great extent at least, they have failed, to bring about any important changes in the character and condition of the poor, is it not time to look at them, and to consider them, even depressed and debased as many of them may be, still, as they are, intelligent and moral beings; beings of the same nature with ourselves; who do, and must, and will act from the impulses of this nature; and who are therefore to be improved in their conduct and condition, not merely, or principally, by any external operations in regard to them; but almost exclusively, by operating upon their minds; by carrying the true principles of improvement to the springs of conduct and character in the soul? You cannot, but to a very limited extent, break, and tame, and govern man, as the brutes are governed. Much less may you hope to regulate him as a machine is regulated. Each individual has his own passions, propensities, will, to which human laws and ordinances cannot reach; which always have resisted, and always will resist, any external force that is brought to bear against them. And a poor man, it is to be considered, and equally the multitude of the poor, if untaught, and without the principles of moral restraint in their own minds, having nothing to lose, and possibly much to gain by any great convulsions in a state, will be the ready instruments of any demagogue, who will promise to them the spoils of those, on whose ruin he would elevate himself to distinction and power.—These are not the chimeras of a distempered fancy. They call for the sober thought of politicians, of philanthropists, and of Christians. Let

us then, before it shall be too late, consider what may be done by a wise direction of moral power, or to speak more explicitly, by following the light of Christianity, in the work of improving the condition, by improving the character of the poor.

And here I am happy to say, that in looking over the world for an example of the efficacy of moral power, in controlling the causes, and affecting the character of poverty in a large city, we have the gratification of finding the best with which I am acquainted—*at home*. We have learned, through our newspapers, something of the dreadful wretchedness of multitudes of the poor through the past winter, in some of our large cities at the south of us. I have no suspicion that, in these accounts, there was any overcharged statement; any exaggeration. On the contrary, I know that, from what was suffered by the poor among ourselves, the distress of thousands of families there, must have been unspeakably great. Here, however, notwithstanding the facts, that we have had among us hundreds of men, who, for months, could hardly earn their daily bread; and hundreds of women, either without employment, or laboring for a price which at best would give them only food; and though, as a consequence of this, we have seen an unusual number of beggars in our streets, and in our houses; I do not yet believe that there has been half the amount of suffering during that time, among our own poor, even in proportion to our numbers, which has been endured in those cities. Nor is there any question upon the causes of this vast difference in the condition of our poor. The single fact, that in our city, containing from 65 to 70,000 inhabitants, we are annually expending, and raising by a tax, between 50 and $60,000 for the sup-

port of our free schools, which are open to every child in the city, from the age of 4 to 14 years; and that, besides these schools, there are in the midst of us private seminaries for instruction, for the support of which, I think I may say with confidence, that an equal sum at least is annually expended, will go far to explain the causes of this difference. The moral influences of these schools are scarcely less upon parents, than upon their children; for the parent who faithfully keeps his or her children in them, feels that his or her family is thus connected with the society of which they are members, by a strong and most interesting bond. They feel that their children may attain to a better condition than their own;—that they have in these schools, notwithstanding their poverty, something to give, and to bequeath to their children; and that their educated children may be the supports of their own old age. Not a little, too, is thus done, to awaken in them a proper self-respect, and a very salutary sense of the worth of character; and much, very much, to aid them in the great work of domestic discipline; and thus in the attainment of the best happiness of life, next to that of a good conscience, the happiness of domestic virtue, order and peace. Who can doubt whether much is thus doing at once for the prevention of pauperism, and for the exertion of a most important influence on the character and condition of the poor? "It cannot be doubted also,"—to adopt the language of one of the greatest benefactors of our city, who at once was one of the most efficient of the agents by whom our primary school system was established, and who was the originator, and has for twelve years been the life and soul of our Savings Bank,—"it cannot

be doubted whether much indirect benefit has resulted from the Savings Bank, for even the direct advantage is perceptible. Formerly it was supposed, that the expenses of any town for the aid and support of its paupers must be swelled, at least in equal proportion to its population; and our history, it is believed, generally verified the supposition. But within the period when our city has certainly increased fifty per cent, the poor rate has advanced less than ten. Thus twelve years' experience proves how much good may result from calling upon the poor to help themselves; and, by adding together their small funds, become lenders to the rich, and thereby strengthen the connexion of all the classes of society."* The active and excellent officers of our benevolent societies have contributed a share to this good work; and I hope that I may be allowed to say it without being accused of presumption, my own ministry has, to some extent, been effectual to the same end. Let there be a minister, who shall be qualified for the service, in each of the quarters of our city; let him know, and minister to, every family of the poor within his district; and let these ministers, as far as they can consistently with any differences of religious opinions among them, cooperate in the great general objects of their service; and, I believe, very much will be done to lessen the amount of pauperism and of sin among us; very much to meliorate the condition, by improving the character of the poor; very much to raise multitudes from their degradation and wretchedness; and very much in the accomplishment of the great objects of the gospel of Christ. I know that my own service is much less effectual of good

*Mr Savage's twelfth report of the Provident Institution for Savings. See Boston Advertiser for January 29, 1829.

than it would be, if I could bring it within narrower limits. Nor would I ask of my fellow-beings a greater boon, than the opportunity and privilege of being thus enabled to restrict my labors within a single quarter of the city.

Let me say a word in respect to the wages which are given to the poor, and especially to poor females.

I have recently received the "report of a committee, appointed by the citizens of Philadelphia on the 21st of February last, to ascertain whether those who are able and willing to work, can in general procure employment;—what is the effect upon the comfort and morals of the females, who depend on their work for a support, of the low rate of wages paid to that class of society;—to what extent the sufferings of the poor are attributable to those low wages;—and what is the effect of benevolent, or of assistance societies, on the industry of the laboring poor?"—These are important inquiries, and they deserve attention. There must indeed, and there will be, there, and here, and in every large city, seasons in which there will be great numbers of those who depend on their daily labors for their daily subsistence, who will seek in vain for the opportunity to labor. The supply of laborers in a city will often be beyond the demand for them. Nor, probably, in these seasons, could the united efforts of the benevolent furnish any considerable part of them with constant employment. Nor do I perceive how it is practicable essentially to raise the wages of the poor females, who depend for work upon the supplies which are furnished from slop-shops, or by upholsterers, or by shoe-makers, or by any of the mechanics who employ them. Still it is important that it should be understood, that there is a vast amount of

want and suffering, which is to be attributed to the low wages that are given to these females; and to the absolute impossibility, with many men and women who are able and willing to work, at certain seasons to obtain the employment by which they may live. It is very important that it should be understood, that, revolting as may be the forms in which poverty is sometimes seen in our streets, or at our doors, there is yet a very great amount of want and of distress, which is not to be ascribed to vice. And it is important, too, that these causes of want and of suffering should be well known, not only as a means of calling forth the sympathy and kindness of those who are able to send, or to carry to the destitute the relief which they need, but also to induce those, who call for the occasional services of the poor, to remunerate them fairly, fully, and when they are able, even generously for these services. I am sure that there are great numbers of the poor, who now cannot subsist without the occasional assistance of benevolent societies, or of benevolent individuals, who would yet most gladly, if they could do it, support themselves by their own labors; and who would never ask for charity, if the wages of six days' labor would meet the necessities of the week. To the conscience, then, of those who give this occasional employment to the poor, I appeal for the justice towards them, which they cannot demand for themselves, and which human laws cannot enforce upon us. Let us feel,—for we should feel,—the injustice and the meanness, the oppression and the cruelty, for the sake of the small savings that may thus accrue to us, of availing ourselves of those seasons and circumstances in which the poor are compelled to be idle, or to work at the lowest possible prices. Or, if any one resists the demand

on the ground of its justice, let me pray him to consider how much better is the charity, which thus enables a family to live independently, than is that which, in giving that which has not been earned, may be a means at least, of fostering indolence, and of encouraging a willingness to be dependent.

I am, however, particularly desirous that it should be understood and felt, that, important as it is that the claims of our religion for the physical wants of the poor should be met and answered, there is a yet infinitely higher charity, which is demanded for them by the same authority. I refer to the charity which has for its object, their greatest improvement and happiness as moral and immortal beings; to the charity which regards the poorest, and even the most debased of our fellow beings, as our fellow sinners and our fellow immortals; to the charity which regards them, as, equally with ourselves, the children of the Almighty Father; and, which sees in their spiritual wants, and expcsures, and weaknesses, in their temptations, and trials, and sufferings, a clear intimation of the will of God, that we should be his instruments in carrying to them the light, and strength, and consolations, and encouragements of the gospel of Christ. Almsgiving is unquestionably a christian duty; and, when brought under the direction of christian principles, is an exercise of christian charity. And delightful is it to witness the blessed influences of our religion, as they are manifested in the contributions of private benevolence, for the relief of the sick and suffering poor. It is a beautiful exhibition of the spirit of Christianity, which is given by the agents of our benevolent associations, in their visits of sympathy, and their offices of love, in the chambers of want and

distress. But mere almsgiving is too often mistaken for the whole of charity, and made a substitute for it. It is too often mistaken for the whole of charity, even when it has in truth no relation to that highest principle of our religion. Let us understand this error, and do what we can for its correction. The highest conceivable charity is that which has for its object the character, the mind, the soul. The highest office of love towards a poor fellow sinner, is to call forth in his soul an intelligent conviction of his true condition, in the relation which he sustains to God, to his fellow creatures, and to the eternal life on which he is soon to enter; and to call into action in the soul those great principles of christian truth and duty, by which all the dealings of God with him, whether in plenty or want, in health or sickness, in joy or sorrow, shall be means of strengthening and enlarging his piety and virtue. This is at once a practicable object, and one the importance of which can hardly be exaggerated. By the deep and strong impression of one christian truth or duty upon the mind, or by the success of calling forth one serious effort for self-correction and self-improvement, a greater charity is conferred, because an infinitely greater good is done, than by any relief of an immediately pressing physical want. The moral necessities of our nature, the wants of our immortal nature, are of as much more importance than those of the body, as the soul is in its nature and destination superior to the body. And how are these moral necessities to be so effectually met, in those of the poor who are not, and cannot be, brought to any regular connexion with our existing religious institutions, as by a ministry which shall be devoted exclusively to their religious and moral improvement?

The past has been a winter of peculiar difficulties and sufferings among the poor, and therefore, of peculiar demands upon this ministry. Even if the weather of that time had been mild, and the general state of health as favorable as it commonly is in that season, the wants of many among us would have been unusually pressing and painful, from the impracticability of finding employment, even in any of the departments of labor to which the poor look for the means of supporting their families. It is hardly conceivable, but by those who will carefully look into the details of the subject, and who will acquaint themselves, by personal observation in the families of the poor, with the consequences, in these families, of any considerable check upon the means of their obtaining subsistence by their labors, what an amount of want and distress is thus accumulated in them, even within the short space of three or four months. There are indeed among the poor, as well as among those who are not poor, those who are thriftless, wasteful, indolent, intemperate, whose families are often brought to great want and misery, even amidst the greatest general prosperity. But it is not of the wants of this class of the poor that I am now speaking. By the small demand for their labor, in comparison with the number to supply it, there have been many, at least comparatively virtuous, both of men and women, and journeymen mechanics as well as day laborers, who would most gladly have supported their families by their own industry; but who had nothing laid by for a time of necessity, and who have often been unable to earn enough in a week to pay their house rent. And these, it ought to be known, are circumstances of great moral danger to those who suffer under them.

When want enters the dwelling of him, or her, who would, but cannot find the employment, by which an honorable subsistence may be obtained—where, nevertheless, there are children to be warmed, and fed, and clothed; and where the only alternatives left to a virtuous mind are, to beg or to borrow,—there "want" comes indeed "like an armed man," to send dismay into the soul. What then shall be done? Let these families be left without sympathy, without encouragement, without the temporary aid which they require, and they will accumulate debts, every increase of which will increase the difficulties of their condition, and more effectually break down their spirits, and expose them to intemperance as a means of obtaining an oblivion of their sufferings; or they will be gradually brought to a willing dependence on begging and charity. How can it be otherwise? Let a poor man, disposed to labor, but unable, though he passes from wharf to wharf, and from door to door to ask for it, to find employment, be yet called upon from week to week for his rent, which he cannot pay, and by his wife and children for food with which he cannot supply them, and he must have no small energy of mind and principle, to maintain his virtue. Or suppose a widow,—and there are many such widows whom I well know, —who have three, or four, or five children dependent on them for daily bread, whose best, whose only resort for the support of herself and children is, the work which is given out from slop-shops. This work consists principally of clothing for seamen, and for laborers, and it must be sold for those by whom it is made at the lowest possible advance upon the cost of the stock of which it is made. It must therefore be made by the poor, by whom

the work can be done at the lowest possible rate. And many have been grateful for the privilege of obtaining this work,—for even this could not always be obtained,—even when seven and eight cents only have been giving for making shirts and pantaloons. I have known women, indeed, to be glad to get pantaloons to make for six and a quarter cents a pair, who could not, however, by their best industry, make more than two pair in a day. How, then, are they to pay their rent, and to obtain fuel and food? And if to these facts you add the considerations, that the cold of the past season has been peculiarly severe, and that there has been more than double the amount of sickness among the poor, which has been known for some past winters, it will, I think, be readily understood, that there must have been a very unusual amount of want and suffering among this class of our population. My visits, since the date of my last semi-annual report, have been confined to about three hundred and fifty families; to many of whom, I am sure, that this ministry has been instrumental of very great relief and comfort, in times of great want, and of very deep affliction. I hope also, and believe, that in some cases at least, it has conduced to a kind and degree of good, which will be as true and lasting as the promises of our religion.

I owe much, to the contributors to my poors' purse; and I beg each of them, whether known or unknown to me, to accept my best thanks. Especially do I feel under great obligations to the ladies of the sewing circle, who associated for the purpose of assisting me to relieve the very destitute among us. Their fidelity in the good work they have undertaken has been worthy of the be

nevolence in which it originated. It will gratify these ladies to know, that in the beginning of the cold weather of the past season, when neither the city, nor I believe any of our charitable societies gave out fuel, though it was scarcely less important to some than it was in mid-winter, I was enabled by their bounty to meet the pressing wants of forty families for this essential article of comfort. In several of these families there was sickness; and in each of them the charity was demanded by circumstances, which made its exercise to be a great privilege. I consider their kindness, and the kindness of all who have committed money to my charge, as scarcely less a favor to myself, than to those whose sufferings they have enabled me to relieve. Allow me to express the hope, that the friends of my ministry will not forget, that the wants of many of the poor are scarcely less in the summer than they are in the winter; that there are many aged, and feeble, and sick among the poor, who must be aided by private charity; and that *it is only by a continuance of the bounty for which I am indebted to them, that I can relieve some of their greatest sufferings.* For reasons which I think will be obvious to those to whom I am thus indebted, I cannot publish details respecting the distribution of their bounty. But my book of receipts and expenditures is open at all times, for the examination of any one who has entrusted money to my care; and I am always ready to answer the inquiries of any individual upon the subject.

This Report was due on the 5th of this month. But my strength having greatly declined, I was induced to leave the city on the 14th ultimo. I have been absent upon a journey till the 26th instant. My number of

visits, recorded since the date of the last report, to the 14th ultimo, is 1822. I have now resumed my service, and shall most gratefully do what I can in it.

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, May 22d, 1829.

(9)

MR TUCKERMAN'S

SECOND SEMIANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

THIRD YEAR OF HIS SERVICE

AS A MINISTER AT LARGE

IN BOSTON.

BOSTON,

GRAY AND BOWEN, NO. 135, WASHINGTON STREET.

1829.

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Wilson's Lane.

REPORT.

To

To the Executive Committee of the

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN,

THE approaching winter will probably be one of more than usual suffering among the poor of our city; and in the anticipation of a consequent greater demand for charity, the inquiries have often been proposed within a month or two past, what are the best preparations that can be made for the exercise of this charity? How may we at once most judiciously, and most effectually, provide for the wants, for which it will be absolutely necessary that we make some provision? These are important questions, and demand very serious attention.

One circumstance which will make the coming winter more than ordinarily trying to many, is, that they have not been able, during the past season, to obtain the employment, by which they could make the preparations they have been accustomed to make for the months of winter. There is scarcely a mechanic occupation pursued among us, in which large numbers, through the summer and autumn, have not found it very difficult, and often impracticable, to obtain work enough to enable them to pay their rent, and to purchase absolutely necessary food and clothing; and we have had double the number of day-laborers, required for all the work on which they depend for support. The consequence of this state of things has been, that a larger number of these, and of mechanics, than has been usual within the same term, have left the city; and it would have been well for man

more, as well as for the city, if they had sought elsewhere for the means of supporting themselves, which, for a considerable time yet to come, they will find it difficult to obtain here. While considering, therefore, how we may most wisely minister to those, whose wants we cannot disregard, and whose sufferings it is our duty to relieve, an enlarged view of the interests of the poor, as well as of those of their benefactors, requires of us that we take good heed, in a time of more than ordinary demand for charity, that we do not adopt any measures, which will enlarge and perpetuate the evil of an excessive poor population. Will it not be well, then, first to look at the causes to which are to be ascribed the large number of the poor which we have among us? I will but glance at two of the most obvious of them.

The first of these causes is, the great demand for laborers which has been kept up for some years past among us, principally, perhaps, in consequence of the new direction which was given to the employment of capital, by the checks and embarrassments that were experienced in its employment in commerce. We have had a very large amount of disposable capital in our city, and at least a proportionally active spirit of enterprise. It has not therefore been difficult to obtain credit, where any new enterprise opened a tolerably fair prospect of success. In this state of things, our capital, instead of being sent abroad, has been spread over the land; partly, in the establishment of manufactories; and partly, in an enlargement of the number of our expensive buildings, either for residence, or for places of business, beyond the demand of the city for them. Which of these appropriations of capital has conduced to the greatest amount of suffering on the whole, may admit of a doubt. But it is not doubtful whether hundreds of families have been drawn to our city, and have settled themselves here, in consequence of the demand which has been created for

their labors, by the additions which have thus been made to our public and private buildings,—and with whom it is not now an easy thing to return to the places whence they came; who have learned to prefer a city life, and who must now, to a considerable extent, be dependent on charity.—I do not advert to these circumstances in the spirit of reproach. I would only account for the fact, that we have now among us an extraordinary excess of those who are wanted for the labor of the city.

There is a large class of the poorest of those in the country, to whom the city has always attractions enough to bring them into it. Not a few of this class receive no small encouragement from some of the Overseers of the Poor in the country, as quickly as possible to find their way to the city, where they may either obtain work, or be assisted as they cannot be in the places from which they come to us. And here, if they cannot find employment, they do not seek long without finding the associates they want. Here, too, they can live as they will in greater security, because they are scarcely known but to those who are in the same condition with themselves. When once brought into the city, it is therefore extremely difficult to obtain their removal from it. A time of actual, or of apparent prosperity, when work is promised, or seems at least to be promised, to all who ask for it, will increase as well this class of its inhabitants, as that of the industrious mechanics who come here to raise themselves to competence and respectability. These are considerations, which admonish us of dangers that lie in the path of duty respecting the poor. The truth is, and we should understand it, that the greatest conceivable demand for labor in a city will soon be met by an abundant supply; for the materials of this supply are abundant every where. It is the dictate, therefore, of a wise policy, to foresee and avoid whatever may give an artificial extension to the laboring class of a city. For, even if the numbers which

are thus brought into it should bring down wages to the level of demand for their services, and thus apparently, for a time, advance the interest of the capitalist, or of the employer, a reaction will sooner or later occur, in which the employer, and the capitalist, must make a return for this temporary advantage, in the form either of a poor tax, or of charity, considerably beyond the amount gained by the depression of wages. In illustration of what I mean by the excessive demand which has been made for laborers among us, it is enough to state the fact, which I think that I can state upon good authority, that there are now five or six hundred houses to be let in the city. And it is also a fact, important to be considered in this connexion, that while the rents of the houses which are inhabited by the affluent, and by the middling classes, have fallen perhaps nearly to the level of the general depression of business, the rents of the poor are almost universally as high as they have been for some years past; for the very plain reason, that there is so great a demand for the rooms which are rented by them, that it is very difficult for a poor family that would remove from one part of the city to another, to make the desired exchange in their place of abode; and the difficulty is much increased, if the object be to find a room which is twelve and a half, or twenty five cents, lower than that which they are occupying. As far as our excessive population of this class is attributable to this cause, it may be well to understand the fact, even if nothing can immediately be done for a remedy of the evil. I believe, however, that between two and three hundred have left the city within the last three or four months, from a conviction that they might elsewhere more easily find the means of support. And it will certainly be for their advantage, if many more, from the same cause, should be induced to spread themselves over the country.

The second of these causes is, the widely spread fame of our charity.

This, I have no doubt, has been a means of bringing many to us, not only from the towns in our State, and from the neighboring States, but from the British dominions in America, and even from Europe. I do not refer to this circumstance, that I may check the current of benevolence in any heart; for we have, in truth, no excess of benevolent feeling among us. Nor will a reference to either of the causes to which I have adverted, restrain from one effort of kindness in any well ordered mind. But it will throw some light on the inquiry, how is the tendency to this redundant population to be checked? Ask the agents of any of our benevolent societies, whether there are not multitudes among the poor, who know as well the times of the meetings of these Associations, their anniversary days, and the amount of their funds,—or at least, of their public collections, as they are known to the officers of these societies? But without referring to the poor themselves as the heralds of these charities, see what a machinery is put into operation, whenever a public meeting is to be held of any of our benevolent associations, that as large a multitude as possible may be called together. And of whom does this multitude consist? Is it not principally of the poor? In view of these things, I would say then, let it be understood, and talked of, and *published*, that it is a mistaken conception that has been excited abroad, that there is a demand for laborers in our city. This may do something for us. And, let us learn to be less boastful of our charities, and less ostentatious in their exercise. We may do all that we are now doing, and far more, for the poor, and thus for our own virtue, and yet we may do all far more quietly, and effectually, and with less injury to ourselves and others, than by our present modes of exercising our public benevolence. Let the agents of our benevolent societies

and all who are interested in them, be made aware of the tendency of their advertisements, and other notices of the anniversaries of these societies, and of publishing the sums collected at these meetings, to act as lures in bringing those to the city, who would not otherwise think of coming hither for support. Even, if by these means, we shall do little or nothing to lessen the sufferings of the winter before us, we may thus essentially prevent an accumulation of distress in future years. In this way, too, we may considerably lighten the future public burdens for the support of the poor. And no time could be more favorable than is the present, for admonition on this subject. By a recurrence to past mistakes, in connexion with what we experience, and what we fear, let us gather wisdom for the time to come.

Let us then return to the question, from which we have wandered for a moment. How may we most effectually, and most judiciously, provide for those necessities of the poor, for which it will be absolutely necessary to make provision?

The first step, I think, which is to be taken in answering this inquiry, is, distinctly to conceive what we ought not to do, and what it would be very injudicious that we should do. For the considerations that should restrain us from one course of conduct, will throw no small degree of light upon the principles, which will lead us in an opposite, and wiser direction.

First, then, what ought we not to do, even in a time of more than usual distress, for the assistance and relief of the poor?

Three means of relief have been proposed, either of which, if adopted, I believe would conduce to an ultimate, and very considerable increase of the evil. Let us look at them.

A proposition has been repeatedly suggested, for relieving the poor in the important concern of their rent.

This is indeed a very heavy part of their burden, and there are cases in which they must be assisted to bear it. It has therefore been asked, would it not even be a good investment of money, to build a number of houses expressly for the poor, which shall be rented to them for half, or two thirds the sum, which they must now pay for rooms, far inferior to those that might be thus provided for them? This, without doubt, would be to the families which should be so accommodated, a great good. But it must be considered, that the high rents required of the poor arise from the excess in the number of the poor among us. If, then, we build more habitations for them, shall we lessen, or increase this excess? Ought we not rather to do what we may, to induce those who can well be spared, to leave the city, and to seek in the country for the employment which they cannot find here? I believe that an enlarged christian kindness strongly requires of us, in this way to seek a diminution of the number of our poor. And let the number be diminished of those who want the rooms occupied by the poor, and the rents of these rooms will soon find their proper level. This is the only way in which I think that this evil is to be effectually remedied.

Another inquiry, which has often been proposed, is, may not some new modes be found of employing the poor? Or, may we not do something for the female poor, by establishing another house for employing those who cannot elsewhere find employment?

Here the same difficulty again occurs. We shall thus ultimately increase that very excess, which we should endeavor to lessen. We shall thus offer a most effectual encouragement to the poor of the country, to come here for the labor, with which we thus offer to supply them. And having thus kept those among us, who might otherwise have left us, and even increased their number, it will be found, after all, that we have relieved but a very few, in comparison with the whole; that we have given a re-

lief, for which but little gratitude will be felt,—for there will be more complaints of the lowness of wages under such circumstances, than of thanks for wages received; and if, in the work thus given, we shall have lessened the demand for similar work a few months hence,—and this will be almost a necessary consequence of any considerable establishment for the purpose,—we shall but have deferred their sufferings for a few months, perhaps then to have increased them. This is therefore a measure, the adoption of which, it seems to me, would be unwise. Unnecessary and useless work must occasion ultimate loss somewhere; and, indirectly at least, even to the laborers employed upon it; for it so far disenables their employers to continue to employ them. And the work, in any department even of useful labor, which has furnished a supply beyond demand, must equally, if not still more, check the operations of employers; and thus bring distress on those, who depend for the means of subsistence on daily labor.

A third inquiry which has been made is, would it not be advisable to establish two or three soup-houses, and perhaps two or three depositories of vegetables, to which the greatly suffering part of the poor might go two or three times in a week, for the small supplies which might there be dealt out to them?

Establishments of this kind are well known in Europe, and they have been adopted in some cities of our own country, in times of great distress among the poor. And they are, without doubt, means of relieving the necessities of many, who should in some way be assisted. But I have as little doubt whether they are means of increasing the pauperism of a city. It must be seen, at once, how direct will be their tendency to bring idlers and vagrants from the country, who would much rather, in this way be supplied with food at their own homes, however mean and miserable those homes might be, than

live in subjection to the discipline of a country alms house. It will be impossible, too, in these establishments, to maintain a principle of discrimination. The indolent and intemperate will therefore not only obtain their full share of this bounty, but they will sell that which you give them for food, for the very means of indulging the intemperance, which is, perhaps, above all others, the cause of their poverty and sufferings. Nor is it an unimportant consideration, that these establishments, having once begun, it will be believed by those for whom they are intended, will be *continued;* and they will be looked to for the means of living in the winter. The excitement to personal effort for provision for the future will therefore be proportionally checked. There are not many who will put forth all their energies for their families, if they can look with confidence to a foreign supply of their wants. This is as true indeed, of those in the more favored classes of society, as among the poor; and it would be happier for many of the young in these classes, if they were reared under a stronger sense of the dependence of their condition through life, upon their personal exertions for respectability and for fortune. We are not knowingly to entrench on the law of God's providence, that every man shall do what he can for himself, and for those of his own household. In a century or two hence, if we are to go in the unchristian course in which other cities have gone, establishments of this kind may be necessary here. But it is hoped, before they shall be resorted to, that due inquiry will be made respecting their tendencies, and their consequences, where they have been adopted.

Is it asked, then, how should we act, or what is it our duty to do, in this very difficult work of provision for the poor of our city?

Before I give my opinion upon this question, I may be allowed to exonerate myself from a suspicion, to which

I feel that I may be exposed, by the precautions which I have suggested, in relation to the exercise of our charity. It may be said, that I have learned to look upon the poor, rather in the light in which they are seen by the political economist, than as a Christian. But I answer, that I should esteem that to be a false and injurious principle in political economy, which is not in perfect consistency with Christian morality. I would, however, consider the Christian precepts, in regard to the poor, as I would the language of the New Testament respecting the rich, in connexion with those qualifications, which other precepts of our religion, as well as good common sense, require us to employ in the practical interpretation of them. While, therefore, I would understand and feel, that the poorest of human beings, equally as the richest, is a child of God; that every human being, however poor, and however degraded, has a common nature with him who is the most favoured, and is his *brother;* that for our means and opportunities of instructing the ignorant, of supplying the wants of the destitute, and of recovering the most debased to virtue and to God, we are finally to give account to him who has made us to differ, and who has entrusted us with these means, that we might be the instruments of his benevolence to our fellow creatures; and while I would feel all the power of the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the blessedness of the privilege to which we may be advanced by them, "inasmuch as ye have fed the hungry, and clothed the naked, and visited the sick and the prisoner, ye have shown this kindness unto me;" I would yet remember also, that our religion, with equal distinctness, teaches us, if not in its letter, yet in its spirit, that we are not by our charity to encourage idleness and vice, and thus to increase and perpetuate pauperism and misery. As we are not to do evil that good may come, so neither are we to mistake that for goodness, which a little judgment and foresight might

teach us would inevitably lead to evil. As, therefore, I think it to be the christian duty of parishes in the country to take the charge of their own poor, and faithfully to provide for their own, who cannot provide for themselves, I would say, let us act upon this sentiment. And I think that the inhabitants of a city are acting for the best good of that part of the very poor among them, who belong to the country, by using all fair and christian means of inducing them to return, or of sending them, to the places from which they came, where they will be far less exposed to vice, and where their wants may at least be equally well supplied. And let us do what we thus may for the relief of the city, as long as our social institutions exist, and human nature remains as it is, we shall always have a great number of poor among us, to whom it will not be more our duty, than it should be our happiness, to do good as far as God shall enable us. Nor is it desirable that we should have no poor among us. Nay, it is even desirable to awaken more of the spirit of Christian charity, than now exists among us. I have spoken of the fame of our benevolence. But, in truth, the more favored classes of our society are very far behind the requisitions of our religion, in regard to their duties towards the poor. But I comprehend in the term charity, as does our religion, far more than almsgiving. I shall have occasion, however, again to refer to this subject. I would now only say, that as Christians, we may, and should aim, not alone at the greatest immediate, but at the greatest ultimate good. We should do good at the expense, and even at the hazard, of the least possible evil. We should make alms-giving, as far as possible, to minister not only to comfort, but to piety and virtue. This will be found at once to be the truest economy, as well as a just exposition of Christian duty. And in proportion as we can rise to this benevolence, it will doubly bless both him that gives, and him that receives.

That we may most effectually meet the wants of the poor, I would say then, *first*, that it should be insisted upon, that *there shall be a discrimination in the distribution of alms by our charitable societies.*

It is objected to these societies, that while the good which they do is partial and temporary, the evils to which they conduce are extensive and permanent. It is said that they are known to the poor, and have consequently a direct tendency to increase a willingness to be dependent; that they do, and often must, support the idle in their indolence, and furnish to the intemperate the means of living in their sin; that they are exposed to almost every species of deception, which they have not the means of detecting; and that they are among the most powerful of the influences, by which the most dependent, and often the worst among the poor, are brought into the city, and are retained here. I have stated these objections strongly, and I am aware that these societies are exposed to them. Acting as they do, independently of each other, they must often commit great mistakes, and occasion no inconsiderable evil. But is this evil necessary? It cannot be denied, that these societies give great relief to many of the poor, who could hardly, in any other way, be so efficiently assisted. They are useful, also, to the several members who compose them, by calling forth, and exercising, an excellent spirit of Christian benevolence. And they give a frequently renewed excitement to the benevolence of those who contribute to their support. These are circumstances of good too important to be lost, if the evils to which we have referred may be remedied. And is there no adequate remedy for these evils? Or, may they not so far be checked, that they shall no longer be considered as powerful objections to this mode of exercising charity? I am not willing to believe that the case is hopeless.

It should be known, that our benevolent societies pro-

fess, and really endeavour, to maintain the principle of discrimination in the exercise of their charities. They *visit* the families which apply for their bounty, and learn what they can respecting their characters, as well as their wants. The difficulty however is, that, as they now act, without any communication with each other, they do, and necessarily must, interfere with each other. They must depend alone on those whom they relieve, for a knowledge of what is done for them by others; and they do, and can know, little more of those who receive their bounty, than may be learned from themselves, or from their poor neighbors, who may be interested either to uphold, or to injure them. But is it not practicable, that there should be an understanding, and a concert of action, between these societies? Can no plan be devised for *their closer union with each other;* or, by which they may know what is done by each other, and by the overseers of the poor in the wards in which they severally act?

If the information which I have obtained on the subject be correct, there are five principal, and eight or nine smaller benevolent female societies. These, with the Howard Benevolent Society, are the associations to which the poor in general look for relief. There are indeed other societies for the assistance of the necessitous; such as the English Society, the Scotch Society; societies formed by journeymen mechanics, and supported by annual subscriptions among themselves, for aid to each other in a time of want; and various other benevolent associations for specific purposes, which do not appeal to the public for their funds. In regard to some of these, there seems to be but little danger of a misapplication of their charity. It is charity exercised toward brothe s in a trade, or towards associates in a time of peculiar calamity. But in respect to the others, which have more enlarged and general objects, without some understand-

ing of each other's procedures, and some concert of action, there must indeed, till some great moral revolution shall be effected in society, be a constant exposure to a mistaken, and even to a very injurious distribution of alms. Is it asked, how shall we obviate these evils? I have thought much upon this subject, and was long in doubt respecting the best course that can be taken in regard to it. I have wished, if it were possible, that all our female benevolent societies might be merged into one, which should be auxiliary to the Howard Society. And when satisfied of the impracticability of attaining this end, I have been about to propose, that each of these societies should be distinct auxiliaries of the Howard Society; and at short, and frequently recurring intervals, should render to it an account of its receipts, its expenditures, and of the individuals or families relieved by it. But this scheme, also, I found to be complicated with insuperable difficulties. Nor, upon a careful examination of it, should I feel a strong confidence in its results, even if we could obtain its adoption. The most simple measure of which I can conceive for this purpose, and the only one by which I believe the object can be gained, is, that a registry shall be made every week, in a book kept for the purpose in the office of the overseers of the poor, of each individual relieved by the overseers during the week, within their respective wards, and of the amount of the relief thus given; and that a weekly report shall in like manner be made, at the same office, by each of the agents of our benevolent societies. One book may contain these transactions of all these societies, and one book also those of the overseers of the poor; and any individual, as well as these overseers and agents, who shall then wish for information respecting any one, for the better guidance of his own judgment in his charities, by applying at the overseers' office, may in a few

nents acquire the information, which it would now

take as many days to obtain. This, I repeat, in my opinion, will be the most effectual remedy of the evil; and the good which will be so obtained, will be an abundant compensation for its cost. A considerable increase of duty will thus indeed devolve on the clerk of the overseers of the poor. But our benevolent societies will find it for their advantage to remunerate him for this service, for I have no doubt whether this measure would give thirty three and a third per cent additional value to their funds. At all events, one of these measures, or some other plan for the same end, should be demanded till it is obtained. If the administrators of the public bounty will agree upon any scheme, by which they may be secured against interference with each other, and by which the individuals relieved by them may be known by those who may wish to know them, they will at once be able far more effectually to meet the wants of the poor, and will save thousands of dollars to the city.

In the *second* place, I think it to be of great importance, that *immediate, and more vigorous measures should be adopted, for preventing the accumulation of foreign poor in the city.*

There would, in truth, be no difficulty in providing for all our native poor, if it were for them only that we were called to make provision. But vast numbers of the poor of other countries are thrown upon us; and,—I say it not in the spirit of reproach,—they are taking the bread of our own children. They are here, and must have their share of the labors of the poor, and of the bounty which we have to bestow upon the poor. But a remedy for this evil is not more demanded for the virtue and well being of a city, than it is for the best good of those whom we would thus restrain from seeking a dwelling place among us. Unhappily, it has been thought to be good policy, to encourage emigration to our country; and we have held out the lure to the restless and discontented

throughout the world, as well as to the enterprising and virtuous, that, after two years declaration of their intention to be citizens, and five years residence, they may be naturalized, if two individuals will testify that, in the sense of law, they are moral men. The grossest impositions, too, it is well known, have been practised by some of the poorest who come to our country, in order to bring here others of their own countrymen. Is it asked, what remedy is proposed for this evil? I answer, we require new legislative provisions in regard to the foreign poor who are brought among us. Masters of vessels are now alone liable for the passengers they may land upon our shores; and bonds can be required of them, only by the authorities of the towns in which they may land their passengers. The laws, therefore, respecting these poor, are easily evaded; for passengers of this description, I am told, are put on shore at places, from which they can easily come to the city, while those who bring them, being thus exempted from the bonds that would be required if they were landed here, are under little or no check upon the question, whether they may bring as many as can collect money enough to pay for their voyage to our country. So, however, it would not be,—certainly not to an equal extent,—if owners of vessels shall be made liable for the passengers that are brought out in their vessels; and if the selectmen, or the civil authorities of any town, by ascertaining in what vessels any vagrant poor were brought to our country, may prosecute these owners for damages, whether the men were landed in their town or city, or any where else within the State. Let a remedy of the evil be sought here, and the example will probably be followed by other States. If the object can be attained by any other, and better course, let it be adopted. But something should be done in the cause, and something must be done, or the evil may, in no long time, be irremediable. Measures also should be taken, in regard

to those who come to the city from different parts of our own State, and from the neighboring States. If the officers of other towns are but too much inclined to cast off their burdens upon us, may we not give them some lessons in the principles of political justice, which they will find it for their interest to remember and to practice?

And, in the *third* place, I would say, that *means should be employed to impress our community with a deeper sense of the relation, which Christianity recognises between the more and less favored classes of society; between the rich and the poor.*

It is not to be forgotten, that, after all the vigilance that can be exercised, and all the judgment and caution that can be maintained, for the prevention of pauperism, and for security against deceptions, and the abuse of charity, there will still be many, very many, even in a compact community of only 60 or 65,000, who must be more or less dependent for subsistence on the care and kindness of others. And in view of the gospel of Jesus Christ, if not of the doctrines of political economists, these have *claims*, unquestionable claims, upon those who are able to provide for them. I go further, and say, that if there must be, as there certainly are, many who are comparatively unworthy of the bounty which they seek, they have yet, if Christianity be true, strong claims upon the consideration, and the interest, of those of their fellow beings around them, who are in happier conditions than their own. These claims may in part be answered by public institutions for their relief, in times of their great distress; and in part, by the benevolent associations that are formed to visit and relieve them. But there is no public provision, or associated exercise of charity, that can supersede, or be substituted for, individual obligation, and individual responsibility. This obligation, and this responsibility, as I am happy to know, are felt to an important extent among us. But if it were felt as

should be, we should not need benevolent societies; nor should we ever have occasion for the adoption of extraordinary measures for the poor, even in times of peculiarly pressing necessity. Here, then, is the great end at which we should aim. And I am doubtful whether the blessing so obtained would be greater to the many hundreds, who would thus be saved from the severest of the sufferings to which they are exposed, or to the favored instruments of extending this relief to them.

Is it asked, what are the duties of the intelligent, and the rich, in regard to the poor? What is it that it is desired should be done in our capacity as private Christians?

I answer, and I think it is contemplated by our religion, that the more favored classes should feel, and strongly feel, that they have a common nature with those in the less favored conditions of life; that opportunities and means are responsibilities; and that it is God's will, that they should be his instruments for accomplishing the purposes of his benevolence to the poor. They should therefore *visit* the widow, the fatherless, and the prisoner, and do what they can to assist, and to improve them. Or, to be yet more explicit, every individual who has the means of assisting a few families, should feel his obligation to seek out, and to know, a few families, with which he shall connect himself as a christian friend. One may be able to maintain this intercourse with only two or three families, and another may do it with ten or a dozen. But every man who is disposed for this intercourse, may find leisure for it. Let him visit these families once in a week; and, if he cannot do it with convenience on other days, let him do it on Sunday, in the intervals from public worship. And let him feel that, in forming this connexion, he has taken upon himself a moral charge; that he is to be the adviser, and to seek the improvement, of parents and children; to aid parents in keeping their children at school, and in placing them out as apprenti-

ces; to promote temperance, industry, order and cleanliness among them; to connect them, when it shall be practicable, with some congregation of worshippers; to inspire them with a proper self-respect; in times of sickness and sorrow to be their comforter; and in seasons of want, so to minister to their necessities, that their energies for self-support may be increased, rather than lessened, by the bounty they may receive. Is there any thing in all this that is merely theoretical, or visionary? The simplest principles of Christianity, carried into full exercise, would perfectly secure the permanency of all this good amongst us. We have means enough, intellectual, moral and pecuniary, to meet all the demands of our city in regard to the poor. The whole difficulty of the case, is that of bringing these means into use for the purpose. In other words, our great want on this subject is, that of a greater prevalence of the true spirit of our religion among the intelligent, and the rich, in regard to their relation to the poor, and to the christian duties which grow out of this relation. Let the objects of Christianity be accomplished in the rich, and the poor will be *blessed*. None will then withhold the kindness they can exercise, and there will be no complaining in our streets.

My visits, during the last six months, have been divided between three hundred and seventy families; and, during the last year, between nearly five hundred families. In looking back upon this intercourse, I am sensible that, in some of these families, I have probably been instrumental of no good. There are others, in which, though no very perceptible change has been effected, I have reason to believe that there has been some amelioration of condition, arising from improvement of character. And I feel assured that there are not a few, who have been encouraged, and strengthened, and carried on in the ways of well doing by this ministry. I have great happiness in my

knowledge of the numbers, towards whom I have been enabled to act as a christian friend in those exigencies, in which some at least would hardly have known where to have looked for a friend to advise, and to act for them. This, indeed, is a very interesting and delightful part of my service. There are occasions, to themselves of great importance, in which the poor want advice, and the interposition of a friend, quite as much as the hungry want bread. Mothers want this assistance in regard to their children, who are beyond their control, and are on the verge of moral ruin. And husbands and fathers want it, that they may make the provision which they would, but know not how to make, for their families. There are, too, circumstances of temptation and of trial, wholly of a personal nature, but of deep concern to the individuals suffering under them, which call for, and in this ministry receive, sympathy and assistance. And I believe that there are those, who have been advanced by it in the christian life ; and some, who have been recovered from great and gross transgression. My objections to detail on these subjects are insuperable. They might awaken interest, but they would do no good; and probably, if they should come to the knowledge of those referred to in them, would conduce to evil. Many children have been placed in our schools, who otherwise would not have been there ; and others have been kept in school, who might have been lost as vagrants. There is, however, much to be done for the salvation of a large number of children in the city, concerning whom a heavy responsibility rests somewhere. The whole community ought to be alive to the moral dangers of these children. If neglected, they will as assuredly furnish the future supplies for our prisons, as the well educated and well disciplined portion of the children of the city will furnish supplies for the various useful professions, and occupations among us. I cannot ive my views respecting these children within the limits

of this report; but I intend, as soon as may be, to take other measures for calling attention to them. I will only add, in reference to the topic of this paragraph, that the service of our new chapel in Friend-street, where we have now worshipped about a year, is not only well attended, but I have reason to believe that it is a very useful service. I am often checked in my work by a degree of feebleness, which incapacitates me for it. But I am not aware that I have been unfaithful in it.*

I am not willing to close this report, without availing myself of the opportunity which it offers, to express to you my sense of the loss, which I, in common with many of the poor in our city, have sustained in the death of the late Mrs Samuel Eliot; and of recording the respect, and gratitude, and affection, with which I shall not cease to remember her, as one of the best benefactors and supporters of my office, as a minister of the poor. I know that she has been a subject of the prayers of the poor, and that they have mourned for her death with the tears of a most unfeigned sorrow. But I am forbidden, not only by the dread which I know she ever had of ostentation in her charities, but even of being herself known in them, to say what I might of their variety, and their extent. But having lived in habits of friendship with her for nearly thirty years, and having acted as an almoner of her bounty in important cases, which I doubt not are known only to myself, long before I entered upon the ministry in which I am now engaged, I may at least be permitted to speak of her, in view of her benevolence, as an example at once of a disinterestedness, a simplicity, a judgment and a fidelity, not only most honorable to her

* I am happy to be able to inform you, that we have now four ministers at large, or four ministers for the poor. Mr Conant is acting in this capacity under the patronage of the Baptist denomination, Mr Eaton under that of the Church Missionary Society, and Mr Shelden is employed in the service by the Congregational Calvinists.

own character, but I will even add, to the religion which formed it. I have but seldom had occasion to apply to her for the means of assisting others; for the necessity of this application has been superseded, by her own deep interest in the wants and sufferings of others. But I have ever felt myself at liberty to go to her, as I could hardly to any other; and I not only never applied to her in vain, but never without giving to herself, apparently, as great pleasure in bestowing, as they for whom I solicited her kindness had in receiving it. She felt, as I fear that few feel, the responsibility that belongs to wealth. But she always gave with cautious discrimination, and a strong desire to secure the greatest amount of good. Thus did she lay up treasures in heaven, where I doubt not that she has found them, to be to herself an eternal possession. She was, in the best sense of the term, a Christian. Her heart went out in sympathy, and in efforts for others, peculiarly from the care and discipline which she maintained for personal improvement, as a disciple of Christ. I will only add, in reference to those under whose eye this notice may pass,

"Say, are ye sure his mercy will extend
To you so long a span? Alas, ye sigh!
Make then, while yet ye may, your God your friend,
And learn like her to live, like her to die."

Respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, November 5, 1829.

P. S. I am informed, that one or two persons have availed themselves of my name in begging, by saying that I have sent them to the families to which they have applied for charity. But I never so sent any one to an individual, or to a family, but in a single instance, and a long while ago; and then, with a written recommendation. But this I shall not do again; and any one thus using my name, may be known as an impostor.

(10)

MR TUCKERMAN'S

FIRST SEMIANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

FOURTH YEAR OF HIS SERVICE

AS A MINISTER AT LARGE

IN BOSTON. MAY, 1830.

BOSTON,

GRAY AND BOWEN, 135 WASHINGTON STREET.

1830.

PRINTED BY I. R. BUTTS.....BOSTON.

REPORT.

To the Executive Committee of the
AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN, — In addressing to you my last semi-annual report, I anticipated a winter of more than usual suffering among the poor of our city. My expectations on this subject have been fully realized. Nothing, indeed, short of a sudden, and very great change from the state of things as they then were, — of a change which should have given employment at once to several hundreds of laboring men, to hundreds of journeymen mechanics, and to a number at least equally great of females, who depend for their own, and the support of their families, on the work with which they can be supplied from shops, or from the families of their more opulent neighbors, could have prevented an extraordinary demand either upon public, or private charity. No change, however, occurred, either in the state of commerce, or in demand for our manufactures, or in any of the departments of mechanical labor, which was favorable to the employment, or to the wants, of the poor. A consequence of this has been, as I suppose is well known in every family which has had anything to bestow, that the beggary of the past winter has very far exceeded anything of the kind, that has been known among us for many past years. Yet this is by no means the only, nor is it the strongest evidence, of the extent of the want and suffering that have been felt around us. Nor, in truth, have the keenest sufferings of want been felt in the habitations of beggars. On the contrary, some of this class have lived

well, — that is, as well as they would probably have lived, even in a winter of the greatest prosperity, — while many, who have preferred to suffer rather than to beg, who have retained a strong sense of character even in the depths of their poverty, have passed a winter of far greater privations than they have ever before known. Of this last named division of the poor, consists a large part of the flock, of which I have the privilege to be the pastor. As I am therefore very desirous that their actual condition should be distinctly understood, I will beg leave to say a few words in explanation of it.

All are familiar with that general classification of society, by which it is separated into the three divisions, of the rich, the poor, and those who have a competency of the blessings of life. But all seem not to be aware, that poverty, as well as affluence, or competency, is a comparative term; and that, among the poor, there are distinctions of condition and character, which are quite as strongly marked, as are any which are to be found in those that are called the more favored classes. The fact is, that between those who have a competency, and the rich, there is a very close connexion of interests, and a very considerable intimacy of intercourse. They are necessarily brought into contact with each other, in the daily business of life. The men who have a competency, are those whom the rich employ as their principals, or whom they are accustomed in various ways to trust, in their commercial enterprises, in trade, and in the mechanic arts. Here, it is felt, that a mutual knowledge of character is demanded, for mutual security; and these classes have actually a pretty accurate knowledge of each other. But it is not so in the connexion which ordinarily exists between the laborer, and his employer. A knowledge of personal character is not here felt to be of very

great importance. The laborer, therefore, may even be employed often by those, who hardly know his name, who never know whether he is married or unmarried, whether he is working only for himself or for a family, or whether he is virtuous or vicious; and who have not a thought concerning him, but in connexion with the service for which he may occasionally be wanted. The poor are, therefore, too often considered merely as a class of society, — a single body; and a judgment is formed of the character of the whole of them, from the unfavorable specimens, which we see abroad as vagrants, or which come to our houses for broken food, or which are found in almshouses. This, however, is unjust, and to many greatly injurious. The truth is, that there are those who are perpetually passing from the ranks of the poor, into those which we distinguish as the higher classes. And there are those, who are daily passing from competency, and even from affluence, into the ranks of the poor. In an extensive acquaintance with the families of this class of the population of a city, affecting facts are disclosed, illustrative of the vanity of depending on the permanence of earthly prosperity. Nor is the change from affluence, or from competency, to poverty, always to be ascribed to vice. It is not more fair to infer of a man, that he lacks principle, or is vicious, because he is poor, than it would be wise to infer of a man, that he is virtuous, and worthy of all confidence, because he is rich. Let us then look at the poor as they are, — a very mixed class; and comprehending as many varieties, both of condition and character, as are to be found in the other classes of society. And, that I may give as much distinctness as I can, to the exposition which I wish to offer, of the recent, and the immediate condition of the poor, let me endeavor to mark the boundary within which, peculiarly, though not

altogether exclusively, is included the class of those to whom my ministry is devoted, and whose instruction, improvement, and happiness, is the great object of my labors.

Who, then, are the poor?

I answer, that any one who depends on charity for the means of subsistence, during the time of this dependence, and in the degree of it, is poor. No one, in the strict sense of the term, is poor, who is not thus dependent. But even this dependence is very far from being equal among those who feel it. There are those, for example, who are only occasionally, and partially poor. There are those, too, who are frequently, and considerably poor. And there are those who are constantly, and absolutely poor. And, between these general divisions, there are examples of every supposable degree, and kind of poverty. Any one who should go among the poor, either to exercise the office of a christian minister, or to discharge the duties of christian kindness to them, without clearly comprehending these distinctions, and without keeping them constantly in his view, would be exposed to many mistaken efforts in his ministry, and to much injurious application of his bounty; I advert to them, however, only that I may be more entirely understood, in speaking of the sufferings of this class of our fellow beings.

First. There are those who are constantly, and absolutely poor.

This division of the poor comprehends those who live wholly by beggary. But it also includes others, who are not less dependent on charity, than are those who live wholly by begging, but who seldom or never ask for assistance. Nay, it comprehends some who are very virtuous, and estimable, as well as some who are greatly de-

based and vicious. Let me illustrate what I mean, by examples.

I am accustomed to go to one house, in three rooms of which six families are living. Here are six husbands, their six wives, and their several children. There are other families, who are living together in the same manner; and a much larger number, whose condition is only so far better, that each family has a room by itself. Is it asked, do these families earn nothing for their support? I answer, that the wives absolutely earn nothing; and I know not how, in our city, they can earn anything. In Paris, they might have been fishwomen, or they might have hoed a potato field in Ireland. But there is here no employment for them. Some of them, indeed, hardly know how to use a needle; and some are almost as unused to washing, as they are to sewing. If our commerce were now as active, and as prosperous as it once was, their husbands would perhaps obtain work enough, to enable them to live as comfortably as they have ever lived. But, during the last four months, they could not sometimes obtain a day's work in a fortnight. Is it asked, how then do they pay their rent, and retain for themselves a home? I answer, they do not pay it, and are still in debt for it; and both they and their landlords are looking to 'better times,' for the liquidation of this debt. There are none who feel any strong interest in these families, or who are disposed to assist them beyond the demands of the passing day. As they cannot therefore borrow, they must of necessity either beg, or steal. The children, therefore, and their mothers, pass from house to house to seek for food, while the husbands and fathers either remain at home, or are standing idle in the streets, or upon the wharves; except, perchance, when they can earn twelve and a half, or twentyfive cents, by the strange

circumstance of having an opportunity for an hour or two of labor. This is indeed the hair-breadth division between partial self-support, and constant and absolute dependence. My heart has been ready to sink within me, while I have been sitting in an upper chamber, and have looked upon one bed, which is the resting-place of a husband and wife, and two children; and upon another, in the opposite corner, where a husband and wife, and four children, sleep; and to which the wife was then confined by so severe an illness, as seemed to require all that quiet, and kindness, and the tenderest nursing could do for her. Suppose, then, that the wife, in one of these families, should die. The family, in this case, is generally broken up. The husband provides for himself, and his children are either sent to the House of Industry, or to one of our asylums, or are scattered among their friends. But, should one of the husbands die, or, which is not an uncommon occurrence, should one of these husbands desert his family, this family, deprived of the little that was earned in it, must, and will, fall into absolute dependence. And how are this mother and her children to be provided for? She probably knows not how to read; and her children, kept from school, are growing up in almost equal ignorance. In the present state of our institutions for the poor, therefore, they are compelled to beg. And how are these children employed, when they are not begging? They are either loitering about their houses, or they are playing in the streets, or they are in corners in which they feel themselves to be safe while practising their petty gambling; or they are endeavoring *to find* something, which they may sell for a few cents, with which they will purchase for themselves indulgences, that cannot be obtained by begging. The question is a very solemn one, what is the duty of society in regard to these

children? Their moral capacities have no developement, compared with that even of their intellectual powers. They have, in truth, sometimes a marvellous shrewdness and ingenuity in evil. And not only do they early become deceivers, profane, lewd, and dishonest, but even *accustomed* to the use of ardent spirits. Should any of them even escape a prison, which is not very probable, they will be degraded and miserable for life. — The families to which I here refer are the least generally known of any among us; and they are far from being the greatest sufferers among the poor. They are considered, too, by most of those who take any thought for them, as beyond remedial influence; and the language concerning them is, 'for their absolute necessities, leave them to get their bread as they may; and, when they fall into crime, let the law take its course with them.' This, however, is an unchristian and a wicked sentiment; and its prevalence is doing much to perpetuate the evil, which, by a wise and christian policy, to a considerable extent might be obviated.

But these alone do not comprehend the whole of the constantly and absolutely poor. There are families of mechanics, which have fallen into this condition, even from a state of very comfortable competency. There are husbands and wives of this class, now far advanced in life, who literally have nothing but their little stock of poor furniture, and who are incapable of labor. Some of them are very virtuous; and all of them, in an important sense, are respectable. They have, perhaps, been inefficient, and not as provident as they should have been for a time of weakness, or of sickness, or of old age. But they were not wholly, and perhaps not at all, dependent on charity, till they were past the time of labor. — There are also single women, both widows, and those who

never were married, of exemplary characters, who, by different causes, have been brought to a state of entire reliance on others for support. I know those in this condition, who have been nurses, and who, when their strength was broken down, soon expended all that they had been able to save from their earnings. In some instances, even years of dependence have followed. Here, too, is an aged and enfeebled mother, who has been confined to her room for a year or two, by the charge of a sick son. These two constitute the family. This son may yet linger in the state in which he now is, for years; and the utmost which this mother can do, is, to minister to the comfort of her child. I long visited a venerable woman, now in heaven, who was past seventy years of age, and who for years had the sole care of a deranged daughter. Except her poor household stuff, and her clothing, which was as poor, she literally had nothing. But poor as she was, human life furnishes few examples of a higher order of piety, or virtue, than hers. And I visit another, whose husband is incapable of labor, and who has two idiot sons living with her, one twelve, and the other twenty years of age. Here, also, are aged sisters, living together, and bowed down by years and infirmities. There is no service by which they could earn even a dollar in a year. And here are widows without children, living alone, and past all labor, who must either be supported by charity, or perish. All these, I repeat, — and I might easily add to their number, — are virtuous poor, notwithstanding their absolute dependence on kindness for subsistence. Nay, some of them, in moral and religious worth, and, I believe, in the sight of God, are among the purest and best of this world. They are poor in earthly possessions; but they are already rich in that, which is the best good even of this life, — in a mind at peace with

God and with itself; and, as surely as there is a life beyond the grave, they will soon find themselves to be heirs of eternal happiness. I go also into one family, where is an aged father, who cannot earn a shilling. He is living with his feeble daughters, who can scarcely do more than their father. And I go into another, where an aged wife is doing all that she can do, in the charge of a totally blind and helpless husband. In one family is a husband, who is passing to the grave by a lingering decline. If he were well, and even without employment, his wife could do something for their support. But she can now leave neither him, nor her children, for an hour; nor could she do anything as a seamstress, even if she could be supplied with work. And in another family is a mother, who has long been confined by sickness, and who has supported herself and her children by living at service, till the loss of her health brought her to poverty. She is now nursed by these children, and has no resource for support but charity. I refer to these examples of absolute and entire dependence, because it is important to realize, that even this dependence by no means necessarily implies, or supposes, peculiar vice. There are indeed families, which avail themselves even of the food that is obtained by begging, to obtain the means of living in intoxication, and riot, and all possible debasement. And there are beggars, who employ every mode of imposture to obtain their objects. But let us understand also, that there are those who are sometimes compelled to beg, because they are wholly unable to work, or because they cannot obtain the work by which they might support themselves, who yet deliberately choose to suffer much, rather than ask for assistance; and who never ask for it, while they can subsist without it. To some of these families, the past winter has been a season of very

painful trial; for much of the bounty which, under more favorable circumstances, would have been appropriated for their comfort, has been diverted into other channels. The families of the absolutely poor have, indeed, greatly increased among us, during the past winter, by the failure of all the kinds of employment to which the poor look for support; and, with beggary, we have reason to fear, that the tendencies and preparations have increased to crime and misery. This is a state of things, which demands serious consideration. For all those, even of the most absolutely poor, who are yet poor by the act of God, there is no difficulty of making a tolerably competent provision. But for the poverty which is originating in ignorance and sin, and in which ignorance and sin are indefinitely extending among us, some, and no small accountableness, lies with those who might devise, and provide, the means for its prevention. Is it asked, who are those that share this accountableness with the most depraved of our poor? I answer, every one who understands, or who might if he would understand, the means of its prevention, and who yet fails to advance the measures, by which multitudes of our fellow-beings might be rescued from degradation and ruin.

Secondly. There are those who are but occasionally, and partially poor.

These are in the opposite extreme to those, who are constantly, and absolutely poor. They are now on one, and now on the other side of the line, between competence and poverty. This is a division of the poor, which calls for a strong interest, and sympathy. It includes a considerable number of journeymen mechanics, and of other men who depend on monthly wages, or on daily earnings; and who, in a time of general prosperity, are poor only when either they, or some of their family, are

visited with protracted sickness. It includes also tailoresses, a subordinate class of milliners, respectable nurses, skilful and industrious laundresses, and some others who are constantly supplied with work, while they can do it, by the enterprising mechanics who employ them. Some of this class, by maintaining a wise economy in their expenditures, can, and do, make an important provision for the seasons of the failure of work, or of debility and sickness, by depositing all which they can spare from their earnings, in the Savings Bank. Some of them, however, who have large families, can but meet their necessary expenses by their daily labors. But while the heads of these families have their health, they need not, and they ask not for, charity. They are not *then* poor. It is important, however, to understand, that a very small reverse of circumstances may, in a short time, bring them to poverty. To these reverses they are constantly exposed; and, while suffering under them, they will be partially, and temporarily poor. I have said that sickness may bring them to temporary poverty. So also may any personal injury, which disqualifies them for any considerable time for labor. So also may the failure of their employer. And so also may a temporary suspension of demand for the products of their labor. Some of this class have suffered greatly through the past winter. They have, in truth, suffered far more, and some of them from pressing want, than they who have lived amidst the greatest filth, and whose whole dependence has been upon daily beggary. I must again refer to examples.

But here, I must say, that I feel obliged to speak in very general terms, because it is by no means impossible, that my report may fall into the hands of some, whom I must have in my view in speaking of this division of the poor; and I would neither gratify vanity, nor offend deli-

cacy, by personalities which may easily be recognised. While I am cautious not to indulge my imagination, by supposing what does not exist, I will be alike careful not so to designate individuals, that either themselves, or others, may feel that I am calling attention to them.

It is well known, that a large number of those, who have depended on their wages, or their small salaries, for the support of their families within the past year, have been thrown out of employment. Take the case, then, first, of those who have husbanded their small means with the best economy, and who have 'laid by something for a day of trouble.' They have been obliged to have recourse to this little fund, and it is at last expended. They have been industrious, temperate, and upright, as well as frugal. They have cherished a sense of the worth of character, and have felt themselves to be respectable, and respected. And they never wanted work, while there was any active demand for service, in the department of labor in which they were educated. But in consequence of the prevailing embarrassments in commerce, and in mercantile enterprise, they have been thrown out of employment. How hard is it, with such men, to beg! How unutterably distressing to them is poverty! They may shrink from debt; and yet they must contract debts, which they have perhaps no confidence that they will ever be able to pay. These are circumstances, which, to my knowledge, have wrung bitter tears from men, who, with interesting families around them, for which they could once provide amply, have gone from day to day to their homes, unable to supply the food and fuel, without which their families could not be comfortable. And I have witnessed, too, the desperation of mind to which this condition may bring a man. He that is willing to live by beggary, and who has been accustomed through his life to

poverty, disorder, and dirt, knows nothing of the sufferings of him, who, having lived in cleanliness and comfort by his honest industry, is brought to those circumstances, in which not even his readiness for any honest service will enable him to pay for a shelter, and for food, for his family.

I visit families, in which, by the united industry of the husband and wife, or of the parents and children, or perhaps by the single efforts of a mother, a comfortable support is obtained, while they have health and employment. But suppose one of these families, by the failure of those who employed them, not to be able for some months to find more than half the work, which is indispensable for their support. Yet rent must be paid, and food, and fuel, and clothing, must be provided. But how? He, or she, to whom the family have looked for this provision, cannot now make it. Let any one, then, who would understand the actual condition of this family, pause for a while, and dwell upon it, and attempt to make it his own. O, how open would be our hearts, and hands, to the relief of such sufferers, if our sympathy with them were in any measure accordant with that, which we should think we had a right to claim, if we were ourselves in any comparative state of embarrassment and want! — Or, suppose that a husband, on whose daily labors a family has depended, is taken off from his labors by months of sickness. I might use almost any terms, in describing the distress of families in this condition, and the description would be no fiction. — There are indeed families, belonging to this division of the poor, and with which I am intimately connected, which, even through the past winter, have not looked to me, or to any one else, for charity. While hundreds have not been able to obtain more than the work of a day or two in a week, they have had as

much as they could do every day. And they have neither been interrupted in their labors by sickness, or by any untoward event. Yet it would not surprise me, at any time, to find them in need of temporary assistance, without which they might fall into lasting embarrassments. This, I repeat, is a highly interesting class of the population of a city. For although there is not more virtue in any condition of society, than is to be found among families of this class, while they have employment and the means of self-support, their moral dangers are yet very great in the time of any considerable and continued distress, arising from the difficulty of providing for their daily wants. In this application of it, most emphatically, is charity twice blessed; and, to a benevolent mind, at least quite equal is the good and happiness which is received, to that which is imparted. By the well-timed, and judiciously directed kindness of a few weeks, or it may be of a few months, even years of competence and comfort may be secured.

Thirdly. Besides the constantly, and absolutely poor, and those who are poor but occasionally, and partially, there is a very large intermediate division, consisting of those who are often, and considerably dependent upon charity. Here, also, I must explain myself by facts and examples.

In speaking of those who are but occasionally, and temporarily poor, I ought to have remarked, that, among men, this class consists of those, who not only obtain constant employment while they are able to work, or while there is any work to be done in their department of labor, but who also have a decided superiority of skill and character to recommend them to their employers. And, among females, of those, who, if they work for tailors, can do the finest parts of their work, and can do it in the

best manner; or who, in any other service, claim and obtain a preference, because there will be a demand for their skill, as long as taste and fashion shall retain their influence. The laundress, or the seamstress, distinguished in her employment, like those who are eminent in other callings, has few competitors. The demand for talents like hers, even in a time of general depression, may be above, rather than below the supply that is to be obtained of them. But, on the other hand, even in the season of the greatest activity of business, and of the greatest demand for common laborers, or workmen of ordinary powers, a supply, even to any extent that is desired, is easily obtained. And, for the coarse work of tailors, of slop-shops, and of any kind upon which females may be employed, there is always a sufficient number to meet the calls of the market. For this coarse work also, at the best, the prices paid are so small, that even when it can constantly be supplied, a comfortable subsistence for a family can hardly be obtained from it, even by the most unremitted labor. But it cannot be constantly supplied, even in a time of the greatest general prosperity. And, for more than a year past, the demand for it has been so greatly diminished, that many can obtain no share of it; and even the most favored workers consider it as a great boon, when enough of it can be given to them to enable them to pay their rent, and in part at most to purchase the food and fuel, which are necessary for their subsistence. Let these circumstances be taken into view, and I shall be more fully understood in speaking of those who are often, and considerably poor.

This division comprehends some, who were long among the partially, and temporarily poor. A respectable mechanic, for example, who had always provided well for his family, while he had health and employment, but who

had accumulated nothing, has died, leaving an infirm wife, and several young children. His widow is very virtuous, and well disposed. But she has been accustomed only to the ordinary use of her needle, and she has not strength to go out to daily labor. She must, therefore, through the rest of her life, to a certain extent, be dependent on charity. I know families of this description, which it would be ungenerous and unjust to send to an almshouse. Or, an aged and sick mother may for years be partially supported by her children, who live with her, and who do all that they can for her; who yet, by their united exertions, can in part only support the family. There are also many widows, with young children, who have in general pretty good health, are capable of labor, and earnestly desirous of it, but who are often, and for a considerable time, wholly without employment. In this division of the poor, there are some of exemplary characters, who are not far removed from absolute and constant dependence; and there are those, too, whose poverty is immediately attributable to their intemperance, thriftlessness, and indolence. There are widows, who are faithfully toiling, and patiently suffering, for the instruction and well being of their children, who cannot, by their best exertions, earn more than twentyfive, or thirty dollars in a year. And there are suffering wives of intemperate husbands, who do what they can to earn a little, and who are hardly assisted at all by those to whom they have the best right to look for support; who yet ought not, with their young children, to be left to the miseries of unpitied, and unrelieved want,—embarrassed as we may sometimes feel ourselves to be by the doubt, whether we are not supporting the idle and intemperate in their sins, even by giving food and clothing to their hungry and almost naked families. It is also a very im-

portant circumstance, that, in this division of the poor, there are hundreds of children, who are in the most imminent danger of moral ruin. Some of them are occasionally sent out to beg; by which their moral feelings are not only blunted, but they are brought also into connexion with the habitual beggars, and other idlers, who go to no school, and who early become fearfully vicious. Many of these children are kept from school during a large part of the winter, to gather fuel; and, when again sent to school, they are truants, their names are stricken by the teachers from their lists, and they are soon vagrants. Many, likewise, at eleven and twelve years of age, and before they have acquired any competent knowledge of writing and arithmetic, are placed in shops and offices as waiters, or runners, that, by earning a dollar a week, their parents may be enabled to pay their weekly rent. So great are the evils to which these boys are exposed, from their association with each other, and from their daily temptations to deception and dishonesty, that I consider the probability to be comparatively small, of their future virtue and usefulness. This division of the poor comprehends the greatest amount, though we do not often see in it the greatest degree, of suffering. To a very large part of them, however, the past winter has been peculiarly distressing.

I would refer any one, who thinks that he cannot visit the poor, and who yet believes that they might obtain the employment necessary for self-support, if they would seek for it, to those from whom alone they can look for employment. Ask a man who is at the head of an extensive slop-shop establishment, whether he has been for a long time obliged, and is still obliged, to dismiss empty handed, any considerable number of females applying to him for work, and he will answer you, "hundreds." And

so it has been, and still is, in all the departments of labor, on which females depend for subsistence. Nor have the opportunities for employment been more favorable among our laboring men. The winter has been to them a season of most dangerous idleness. Who has not seen them standing together in groups upon our wharves, at the corners of the streets, and about the doors of the shops, which attract idlers, as the sweetened vessel which is designed to procure their death, attracts flies? It is literally true, that there have been, and that there still are, considerable numbers of laboring men, who might have obtained for their families a competent support, and who would have supported their families in comparative comfort, if they could have had work; who yet have not had, and could not obtain, in many weeks of the winter, work enough to enable them to purchase the food necessary for their families. There are those, also, among poor females, with whom the steady sewing of ten or twelve hours a day, at the low price at which they must do their work, would not enable them to meet the absolutely necessary expenses of every week, or month. If, then, four or five weeks shall pass, — and this is sometimes the case, — in which they cannot obtain any work from those to whom they look for employment, and if day labor in families cannot be had by them, or if their strength shall be inadequate to this labor, where can they look for support, but to charity? Here, then, it may easily be supposed, that great and bitter want must have been experienced, and must still be felt. And so indeed it has been, and is. I could easily give affecting details of this distress. I could exhibit the struggles I have seen of virtue, with the sufferings and temptations of want, which could not fail to awaken a strong interest, even in hearts of no uncommon sensibility. But my object is alone to do what

I may, in the brief space within which I must confine my report, to make the past and present sufferings of the poor more clearly and fully understood, than perhaps they can be, where there is no classification of the conditions of the poor. I have wished, to a certain extent, to shew what is the kind of suffering that poverty occasions, and among whom this suffering is most keenly felt. This is a knowledge, which is very important to a wise and efficient direction, either of public, or of private charity.

The question arises, how have these sufferings of the poor been met? I answer, in the best manner in which they could have been met; that is, by an unusually extensive, and active, sympathy with the poor. No one, indeed, who has not been into their families, can be fully sensible of the extent of the distress, which has been occasioned by the failure of demand for their services. But enough has been known of general facts, — enough has been seen abroad, and comprehended at a glance, to excite to extraordinary efforts for the relief of the necessitous. Several of our religious societies have repeatedly taken collections in their churches, for the poor of their own number. Our benevolent associations, also, have put forth all their energies in the cause. Very much has been given from families, to those who have personally applied for relief; and many have followed the poor to their homes, and have seen for themselves the wants, which could not be witnessed without commiseration, and efforts for their alleviation. I have myself also, thanks to my benefactors, and to him from whom all good proceeds, been enabled to relieve a very great amount of want, and to save many from great suffering. May the best blessings of heaven descend upon those friends of my ministry, known and unknown, who have so liberally proportioned

their kindnesses to the exigences of the times! Aided by their bounty, I have passed with a glad heart, from day to day, into the habitations of the sick, and sorrowful, and destitute; and have sent gladness into many hearts, which I found ready to sink under fear, and care, and trouble. — I now rejoice that no extraordinary public measures were taken, that no artificial and impolitic means were adopted, for imparting a temporary relief, the future evil consequences of which would probably have far overbalanced any immediate good, of which they might have been productive. The poor were thrown upon the sympathy of the community, or of benevolent individuals; and extraordinary demands upon benevolence have called forth extraordinary exercises of it.

In this connexion, permit me to say a word for the cause of that charity, for which there is still an extraordinary demand, and without which, even through the summer and autumn, many must greatly suffer. If there shall be no increase of demand for their services, the absolute necessities of the poor must be as great, for months to come, as they were in the winter, with the exception only of fuel. I leave these wants to be imagined by those, to whom I must look for assistance in relieving them. And, if I have made myself intelligible in the preceding statements, it will not be difficult for any one to conceive of them.

The question, what shall be the character and condition of the poor in a community, or country, depends not more upon themselves, than upon those who belong to the more favored classes. Their characters are principally formed, and their conditions are determined, by the estimation in which they are held, by the examples which they witness, and by the treatment they receive. It is indeed wonderful, that this very simple truth is not more

generally understood. I take it for granted, indeed, that it is not very commonly understood; for if it were, it seems impossible that it should be disregarded by so great a number. Is it not because the poor of the countries of Europe have been left, as a caste, to live and multiply in unpitied ignorance, and want, and degradation, that they have been, and are, the debased, and knavish, and dangerous race, which we now know them to be? I am aware of the vast amount of poor rates in England and Ireland, and of the millions appropriated for the support of paupers on the continent. But is this a provision, which is worthy of the name of charity? Is it not wholly a political expedient? Is there any moral principle that is even concerned in it? Might not the same measures be extended indefinitely, and the poor still remain in no degree improved in condition, or character? Why have so many of those whom God has favored with abundance been so slow to learn, that this class of our fellow-beings have a nature precisely like our own; and that, if they are to be advanced, if they are to be saved from moral evil, and made good and happy, it must be by means similar to those, by which those in more favored conditions are to be made good and happy? Are they not children of the same Father, and members of the same family, with ourselves? Have they not the same natural rights, and natural wants? And are not their souls as precious in the sight of God as ours? If the poor are to be collected in our cities, and are to live there with little or no employment; if, with their increase of numbers, they are to be confirmed in habits of idleness, and are to be compelled to such expedients as they can adopt for self-support, or for relief from the weariness of indolence; and if they are to be exposed to all the evils of vicious association, and vicious indulgence, and to feel that hopeless poverty is their fixed condition; then, in-

deed, we shall not have to pass into Europe, to know to what debasement, and misery, and crime, multitudes may be brought by ignorance and want. Thanks be to God, that we have thus far been preserved from these evils, to any extent like that to which they exist in other countries. But is there no ground for the apprehension, that poverty may be with us, what it is in other lands? It is time that we were alive to the importance of this inquiry; for if we are to be saved from these dangers and sufferings, we must be aware of our exposure to them. Let the poor, then, be the objects of an active, and a christian interest among us. They need it for themselves. They need it for their children. They must be brought into a connexion, into which they have yet been very partially brought, with those whom they consider as above them. And they must be assisted, and encouraged in virtue, by examples of virtue which they will feel it to be their honor, and happiness to imitate. I know of no means, by which so much may be done for the poor, to redeem them from evil, to improve their condition and character, to diminish taxes for their support, and thus to secure property, and life, and the greatest amount of happiness in society, as by strengthening and extending christian sentiments and habits in the more favored classes; by a closer approximation of the rich, in their feelings, and habits, and manners, to the standard of the gospel.

The trial through which this community is now passing, is one of deep and solemn interest. A season of unusually rapid, and widely extended prosperity, in which luxury, and extravagance, and their concomitant vices obtained a proportionally fearful growth among us, has been followed by a succession of checks and embarrassments in the great departments of business, and of disappointments and reverses, the distressing influences of

which are felt through all the classes of society. In this state of things, it surely becomes all of us who are interested in the well being of the society in which we live, even if we regard political considerations, and personal security alone, to inquire, what is our duty in reference to this amount of want and suffering? Above all, the time is favorable, — would that it might be seized with an earnestness proportioned to the greatness of the object, — for the inquiry, how is our country to be saved from the pauperism, the vices, the slavery, and the widely spreading corruptions and misery, which we see in every other country of the civilized world? Is there in our constitutions of government, or in our laws, or can there be in any merely political, or legal provisions, any adequate power for protection against these evils? I think not. Nor, till we look beyond them, and feel to an extent yet scarcely thought of, our individual responsibility in the cause, do I believe that any strong barrier can be raised against the tendencies, in our society, to all the evils, and dangers, and distresses, which are at this very day weighing, as we well know, as an incubus upon other lands. Suppose, then, that our present embarrassments are to continue for a few years longer; that poverty is to increase, and to be extended; and that prevailing sentiments, and tastes, and indulgences, among those who are in what is called the higher classes, are also to go on in the course in which they now are. What, even within a few years, will be the probable condition of society among us? Who can indulge the anticipation, but with very painful apprehensions? Or, suppose even, that the tide on which we are now borne along will soon turn, and that we shall ere long be as prosperous as we have been, and that there will yet be full employment for the poor. Will mere prosperity be to us for security against crime,

misrule, and all its consequences? I have no strong inclination to look upon what is called the dark side of human nature, or of the probabilities of life. But when I see what is actually suffered by multitudes who are near to us, from poverty; when I consider what an amount of poverty is springing from vice, and what an amount of vice is growing out of poverty; when I witness the degradation, and as I have also witnessed, the recklessness, of that which is felt to be disregarded want; and when I remember what I have seen of poverty in England, and what I have read of it throughout Europe, I cannot but strongly feel the immense interest of the inquiry, how are we to be saved from the crime and misery of an overwhelming pauperism? What security have we even of our political institutions, if the poor among us shall become, in numbers, and characters, and condition, what the poor are in the older countries of the world?

The reverses we have suffered, and are suffering, may, and but by our own fault will, be salutary in their consequences. We in truth needed them, for we were acquiring a plethoric, instead of a healthy growth, and were approaching a premature decay, under the very circumstances in which we imagined that we had already attained to national manhood. And good has actually been produced by these reverses. There is less now, than there was twenty and thirty years ago, of luxury and extravagance among us. But do they not still exist to a very reprehensible extent? Are not many living beyond their means, and is there not a great amount of expenditure for folly and sin? I know that extravagance and luxury are relative terms, and I am aware of the difficulty of making a personal application of them to the case of others. But should not every one, in view of the sufferings around him, seriously bring home the inquiry to

himself, — 'What can I do, by economy, by a wise retrenchment, and by christian benevolence, to improve my fellow-beings, and to save any from misery and vice?' Here is the true spring, both of the remedy and the prevention of pauperism. It is far worse than absurd to shut our eyes against evils, with which we are actually threatened; especially when they are, as these evils now are, within limits, within which much can be done to control and avert them. But the whole community, every family, should be awake to the importance of the object, and every individual should feel that he has an agency in its accomplishment. Let Christianity extend its power over the tastes, the imaginations, the appetites and passions, the amusements, and interests, and habits, of a city, and riches in that city will call forth no envy, and poverty will excite in it no dread of danger. Other measures may produce a temporary good. But, I repeat, that I know of no means short of these, by which any permanent good is to be effected. And, in proportion as these shall be faithfully applied, I am sure that the consequences will be at once durable and happy.*

Our Sunday evening service at the chapel has been continued without interruption, and it has been well at-

* 'The welfare of every society depends on the morals of the people. When a country has grown vicious, industry decays, and the people become unruly, effeminate, and unfit for labor. Luxury, when introduced into free states, and suffered to spread, was ever productive of that degeneracy of manners, which extinguishes public virtue, and puts a final period to liberty. Thus the Assyrian army sunk under the arms of Cyrus, with his poor but hardy Persians. The extensive and opulent empire of Persia fell an easy prey to Alexander, and a handful of Macedonians. And the Macedonian empire, when enervated by the luxury of Asia, was compelled to receive the yoke of the victorious Romans. The descendants of the heroes, philosophers, orators and free citizens of Greece, have been for ages the slaves of the Grand Turk. And the posterity of those, whose boast it was, that they were the countrymen of Scipio and Cato, are now singing operas on the English stage.'

tended. But from an increased inability to preach, without great consequent prostration of strength, I have been obliged very often to have recourse to some of my friends, for assistance in this department of my work. I should be glad and grateful, if any plan can be adopted, by which, without unreasonably tasking those who have already enough to do, I may look for permanent relief in this service.

My visits, during the last six months, have been somewhat more than nineteen hundred, and have been divided among a few more than four hundred families. It is a matter of regret to me, that I am obliged to visit so many families; because, however capable another may be of an efficient pastoral service among so large a number, I should be very glad never to have more than two hundred and fifty, or at most, three hundred, to visit. With all the facilities I could have for continued effort, I should find, in either of these numbers, even while I had the best health, sufficient occupation for every working hour of every day.

I earnestly solicit a continuance of the kindness of those, who have aided me to relieve the necessitous.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, May 5th, 1830.

(11)

MR TUCKERMAN'S

SECOND SEMIANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

FOURTH YEAR OF HIS SERVICE

AS A

MINISTER AT LARGE IN BOSTON.

BOSTON:
GRAY AND BOWEN, 135, WASHINGTON STREET.

Nov. 1830.

PRINTED BY I. R. BUTTS....BOSTON.

REPORT.

To the Executive Committee of the
AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN,—It has been a leading object with *me*, in my reports, to call up that attention to the subjects of poverty, and the poor, to which I think they have a fair, and a strong claim, upon the intelligent and virtuous among us. I am very solicitous that the great interests which these subjects involve may be clearly seen, and justly estimated, by those to whom alone we can look for a right direction of public opinion respecting them; and for devising the measures by which our city, and perhaps the cities of our country, may be saved from the dreadful extent of want, and profligacy, and crime, of which we read and hear in the cities of the old world. I am aware of the difficulties with which these subjects are embarrassed. But will these difficulties be lessened, or increased, by our delaying fairly to meet them? Allow me, then, within the small circle within which I can be heard, to address myself to the professional man, to the merchant, and to the mechanic; to all who have property, or who desire to have, and to enjoy it; to parents, guardians, and masters; to those who respect the laws, and would maintain them; and, above all, to those who call themselves, and would be, Christians. I would say a few words upon two topics. First, upon

the tendency of cities to an accumulation of poverty and vice. Secondly, upon the importance of an enlightened public sentiment on this subject, as the great means by which to remedy, or to prevent, the growth of these evils. And to give effect to what I have to say upon these topics, I would adduce a few facts, obtained from authentic documents, respecting poverty and crime in England. I confine myself, in this illustration, to that single country, because I am confined within such narrow limits in the reports I must make to you; and because facts respecting poverty and crime in England are more accessible, than those which respect these evils in the rest of Europe. If even this single view of the subject, however, shall obtain the attention which it deserves, it cannot be that good, and important good, should not result from it.

Poverty and Crime in England,—What are they?

All have heard of English poor-rates. All, however, may not know their origin and progress. It may not, therefore, be unappropriate to say a few words of them.

The confiscation of ecclesiastical property in England, in the reign of Henry VIIIth, threw upon the country many thousand beggars, who had previously been supplied in various ways by the church; and, principally, by the monasteries. It became necessary, therefore, to provide for these beggars; and, in this necessity originated the famous act of the 43d of Elizabeth, under which the poor-rates of England have ever since been levied. The great objects of this act were, provision for the support of the aged, blind, impotent, sick, &c; the employment of children whose parents could not maintain them; the apprenticing of poor children; and, setting the idle to work. Commenda-

ble, however, as were these purposes, this very act has been made the instrument of a vast increase of the idleness, beggary, and crime, which it was intended to prevent. The first assessment under this act was made in 1601. The following table, showing the progressive rise of the poor-rates, the revenue, the national debt, and the population of England, except the last line, is taken from Colquhoun's Treatise on Indigence,* published in London, in 1805.

Years.	Poor Rates.	Revenue.	National Debt.	Population.
1601	£ 200,000	Unknown.	. . .	5,000,000
1673	840,000	1,800,000	. . .	. . .
1698	819,000	. . .	664,263	5,400,000
1700	1,000,000	3,895,285	16,394,702	5,475,000
1751	3,000,000	8,532.540	78,293,313	6,467,000
1803	5,348,205	37,996,088	567,050,606	9,000,000
1828	7,784,356†	55,187,000	772,322,540	12,000,000

I offer no comments upon this table. My object is to show, that, wonderful as has been the growth of the revenue of England, and, consequently, of the wealth accumulated there by individuals, still more wonderful is the disproportion between the growth of the poor-rates, and of the population. Should this disproportion continue to increase for a century to come, as it has increased for a century past, how long, with all her resources, will even England be able to sustain this mighty burden? What an extent of poverty is that, which, in a population of 12 millions of inhabitants, requires, for the support of the poor, an annual tax of thirtyfour and a half millions of dollars?

But even this table does not show the annual amount of expenditures for the poor of England. It is inde-

* pp. 36–53.

† Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxi. p. 117.

pendent of the annual amount of the produce of lands and money, bequeathed at different periods for charitable purposes; of the private charities, and the sums collected by the benevolent societies, of that munificent nation; and, of the expenses of hospitals, and of dispensaries for the sick poor. These, taken together, would probably fall but little short of the amount of the poor-rates. The inquiry arises, and it deeply concerns ourselves, whence has arisen the vast extent of poverty and suffering, for which such provision is demanded? Thirty years ago, in his Treatise on the police of the Metropolis, Colquhoun said, that 'twenty thousand miserable individuals, of various classes, rise there every morning, without knowing how they were to be supplied during the passing day; or where, in many cases, they were to lodge on the succeeding night.'* And, twentyfive years ago, he estimated the total number in England and Wales, who lived chiefly, or wholly, upon the labors of others, including criminals, at 1,320,716 persons.

Of these, he computed indigent persons, mendicants and vagrants, including gipsies, to be	1,110,716
Of the idle who desert, or but half support their families, and loiter in ale houses,	10,000
Of lewd and immoral women, . .	100,000
Of rogues, vagabonds, and lottery vagrants,	20,000
Of criminal offenders, . . .	80,000
	1,320,716

This statement, it is worthy of remark, is made from the Parliamentary Abstracts of 1803.

* p. 313.

The annual amount of depredations committed on property in the metropolis and vicinity, thirty years ago, was estimated, by this magistrate, at 2,000,000 of pounds sterling; or, nearly nine millions of dollars. And the amount of sums won and lost by gaming in the course of a year, at 7,225,000 pounds; or thirtytwo millions of dollars.

We have, however, later records than those of Colquhoun on this subject. In Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,* I find that,

In 1801, the persons totally, or partially dependent on poor rates, in England and Wales, were estimated at . 1,040,000;
Or, one in nine of the population of that year.
In 1811, the number was estimated at 1,340,000;
Or, one in eight of the population of that year.
And in 1827, the number was estimated at 1,850,000;
Or, nearly one-seventh of the community.

On the 5th of June, 1829, the Duke of Wellington said in the House of Lords, that 'it appeared from the returns of the last six years, that the total number of criminals committed for various offences, had increased in the ratio of two-fifths; and that this proportion did not arise from the prevalence of any particular crime, but prevailed in almost every species of crime perpetrated in the metropolis, and in the neighbouring districts."†

I will add but one other testimony on this subject. It is that of Mr. Peel, in his speech on the Metropolis Improvement Bill.

In addressing the Commons, Mr. Peel said, that 'if they compared the state of crime in the metropolis,

* Vol. xviii, p. 1527.
† Hansard, vol. xxi, p. 1750.

with that in other parts of the country, or in England and Wales at large, the result would be very unfavorable to the former. If, for example, they selected the last year, (1828) and calculated the proportion which the number of *criminals* in London and Middlesex bore to the population, they would find that not less than one person in 383 had been committed for some crime in that year. Of the number of persons similarly committed, within the same period, in England and Wales, the proportion would be found to be one criminal to every 822 of the entire population. Nor will the different ratio of increase of population in London and Middlesex, and in the country at large, account for this difference in the amount of crime. An examination of the subject will show, that the great increase of crime in the former cannot be explained by the increased number of its inhabitants. For example,

'In 1821, the number of criminals committed in London and Middlesex amounted to 2,480; the population being 1,167,000.

'In 1828, the committals for London and Middlesex amounted to 3,560, and the population to 1,349,000.

'Here, then, is an increase of 41 per cent in the number of committals in 1828, over those of 1821; while there was an increase of population only of 15½ per cent. — Nor does the rate of increase of the number of commitments in England and Wales correspond with that of the inhabitants; for a comparison of both, in the years 1821, and 1828, show that crime had increased 26 per cent, while the population had increased but 11½ per cent. — Comparing also the increase of crime in the metropolis, in the seven years beginning with 1811, with the seven years ending in 1828, and comparing both with the increase of population, it will be found

that crime had increased 55 per cent, while the population had increased but 19 per cent; leaving an excess of crime over population of 36 per cent, to be accounted for by other means, or causes.'*

Such were poverty and crime in England two years ago; and, while the causes are in action which have produced these results, such will poverty and crime continue to be there. But, dreadful as is even this exposition of human degradation and wretchedness, still more dreadful, in these respects, is the condition of Ireland. That beautiful country, one of the most favored by God, of all the countries upon the earth, with the means of abundance and happiness, is one of the most heavily cursed by man in his oppression of his fellow man, and in all that is either pitiable, or revolting, or detestable, in human ignorance, debasement and sin. It is, however, worthy of remark, that while many ten thousands of the Irish are scattered over England, in quest of employment and food, comparatively few of the Scotch poor are to be found there. Of 2000 London beggars, examined by Matthew Martin, Esq. under authority of the British Parliament, but sixtyfive were Scotsmen. I find, too, that in 1818, the whole assessment for the poor of Scotland was £43,000; which was £600 less than the assessment in the county of Cumberland during that year.†

I know, indeed, that these are details, on which some will be unwilling to dwell; and of which the inquiry may be proposed, what is the good of bringing them before us? Why, it may be asked, do you array before us crimes, which we can do nothing to prevent, and tell us

* Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxi, p. 867, et seq.

† Hansard, v. xviii, pp. 1527, 8.

of this vast amount of suffering, which we can do nothing to relieve? I reply, that I would pray for a serious consideration of '*this frightful difference*,' to use the language of Mr Peel, '*between the increase of crime and the increase of population*,' existing in the very bosom of the most opulent and powerful nation of Europe, as a means of the security of our own country from a similar degradation and wretchedness. Under the most limited, and the mildest monarchy on the earth, and in a country, the resources of which have seemed inexhaustible, poverty and crime are fast outrunning the advance of population! This is no fiction. When I consider, therefore, what numbers we already have among us of native poor, what vast numbers by emigration are every year added to this part of our population, and what an apathy prevails among us in regard to our exposures to the greatest of the calamities of other lands; when I advert to the changes, which, within two or three years, have passed under my own eye, arising out of the fluctuations of business, and affecting thousands, paralyzing the capitalist, and throwing the laborer out of the employment on which he depended for his daily bread; and when I carry forward my thoughts, but a short distance, to the period when our cities will be doubled, or quadrupled in the number of their inhabitants; when, if our children shall have gone on with no better lights than we have had, and making no better efforts than we have made, the evils growing out of neglected poverty may be well nigh irremediable; I cannot but strongly feel that a voice is wanted, which can call attention to these subjects, as it has not yet been called to them. I am well aware that mine is not the voice that can accomplish this great object. Nor do I think that any individual is alone capable of doing

what is to be done in this work, or of teaching all that is to be taught in it. It calls for the best talents, and for the best and most persevering devotion, of the best minds. And if such talents, and such devotion can be obtained for it, a good may be secured to our country, which, if for any considerable time to come it shall be disregarded, or lightly considered, may be irrecoverably lost.

I would neither overstate existing evils, nor indulge a sickly imagination of those which may be before us. But, in the reports which are almost daily brought to us, and of the vast extent of poverty in Europe, and of the intellectual and moral debasement, and the abject misery with which it is there connected, it seems to me that God himself is sending forth an admonition to us, which ought to thrill through the heart of every statesman and philanthropist in our country. Who can look at these facts, and not inquire, how is it that such multitudes of our race have been brought to this degradation, and wretchedness? Why is it that the nations of Europe, with their priesthood and churches, their literature and arts, their commerce and wealth, are every year increasing the numbers, already immense, whose existence must be one of hopeless want and of the deepest depravity; the numbers of those who are wholly beyond moral restraint, and who at times can scarcely be restrained by the greatest civil power that can be brought to bear upon them? We read, and we hear of this distant poverty and crime; and we too easily forget them, as if, in these excesses, they would always be as distant from us as they now are. But where, and in what is our security? Are we indeed in no danger of having among ourselves a population as poor, as degraded, and as criminal as that of Europe? This, it seems to me, is a question of great national importance

and of immediate, peculiar, and most solemn concern to the inhabitants of our cities. Let us look at our cities, and ask, what are the tendencies there to an accumulation of poverty and crime? Or, varying the question, that we may obtain a somewhat broader view of the subject, let us inquire, what are the causes of the tendency of cities to the growth of poverty and crime?

The fact of this tendency of cities needs no proof. Very different views, however, are taken of its causes. And never shall we obtain the true remedy of the evil, or the most effectual means of its prevention, till we get at the deepest and most influential of the causes of it. What, then, are these causes?

In presenting to Parliament the statements we have quoted from him, Mr Peel thought it to be his duty, to give his views of the causes of the 'frightful' evils exhibited in these statements. These causes he considered to be, '1st, The increased mechanical ingenuity of the age; those very mechanical improvements, which are the source of the prosperity of the country; and, 2dly, The very unsatisfactory state of the parochial police.' The Duke of Wellington looked not for causes beyond 'the deficiency of the police.' Another member, however, assigned a third cause; to wit, 'the low rate of laborer's wages, and the want of sufficient employment for laborers.' To me, indeed, it is amazing, that great statesmen, and great political economists, in treating of the greatest interests of the social condition of man, can thus confine their views to the very surface of society. That these are, in truth, causes of the want and crime referred to, admits not of doubt. But are they *the causes*, which primarily demand the attention even of the statesman, and the political economist? Are they ther the most active, or the most powerful of the

causes of these great evils? On the contrary, I think that I see these causes, in the spirit of monopoly, in the luxury, and extravagance, and profligacy of the more favored classes; and in the low estimation in which the more affluent and powerful hold, and have ever held, the humbler orders of their fellow beings. I think that I see them, in the whole history of the legislation of England respecting the poor, and criminals, and every class of those who are considered as offenders; in the vestry and the judicial proceedings respecting them; and in the records, especially of the Police Courts, of the throngs of those who are sent to prisons, or to the hulks, — sinks, perhaps, of deeper iniquity than those, from which the culprits were taken. I see them, also, in the multitudes of beggars who are sent to Bridewell for a week, if perchance their settlement be not in the metropolis. From Bridewell, these beggars are carted to their settlements in the country. And as every other parish is equally disposed to be rid of them, as are the parishes from which they are sent, they are left to go where they will. A very large proportion of them, therefore, find their way back to the metropolis, even before the officer who had conveyed them away has returned there. Here, again, they are apprehended; again they are sent to Bridewell; again are carted to their parishes, and are soon again in the city; and thus they run the circle, hundreds continually dropping off, the miserable victims of their vices; whose places are supplied by increasing numbers, if possible more vicious extending around them a more deadly influence, and thus enlarging the amount of human corruption and wretchedness. And if, looking for a moment beyond the metropolis, we take into our account the statement

of Colquhoun,* that 'there are in Great Britain and Ireland' — that is, there were twentyfive years ago, — '1,750,000 of the population of an age to be instructed, who are growing up to an adult state in the grossest ignorance,' we shall have before us causes, fully equal to the production of all this increased and increasing crime and wretchedness. 'Thus,' adds Colquhoun, 'within every thirtythree years, the period assigned to a new generation, 7,000,000 of adults must mingle with the population of the country, without any fixed principles of rectitude, and with very little knowledge either of religion, or of morality. In view of this state of things, can it be a matter of wonder, that millions should descend into indigence, and become burdens on the industrious part of the community, either in the character of paupers, or of criminals?' I think not. Here, alone, is a cause of poverty and crime, which might well alarm the boldest statesman, or legislator; and alone, if unchecked, even with all the improvements that could be made in parochial police, it would seem, in a few generations, might overwhelm, and bear away, the strongest barriers that could be opposed to it by the strongest government on the globe.†

* Treatise on Indigence, p. 144, 5.

† At the hazard even of falling under the imputation of arrogancy, I am constrained to say, that the great error, as I think, of legislators and of political economists, has been, that they have looked upon man only, or almost exclusively, as a creature of time, and a subject of human government; almost alone as he is seen in the class in which he stands of his fellow beings; and forgetting, or lightly regarding, his moral nature, they have sought for the causes, and the remedy, of evil in society, altogether in outward circumstances; and every where, but where alone these causes and remedies are to be found, in the elements, and springs, and capacities of that na-

But we have later testimony than that of Colquhoun on this subject. I refer to a 'Treatise on the Police

ture, which makes us what we are, *men*. It is not indeed surprising that the poor, and that criminals, under despotic governments, have been treated as beings of altogether a distinct nature from that of their rulers and oppressors. But it is wonderful, that, under a government in any measure elective, and free, and under the light of protestant christianity, a criminal code should have been retained till the 19th century, which was the disgrace of the 16th; and, that it could ever have been hoped to have restrained the growth of poverty, under institutions which as effectually excluded the great mass of the poor from the means of intellectual improvement, as they would have been excluded by a law which forbade their instruction. It is wonderful that, in a protestant country, and in the 19th century, the very means employed for the punishment of criminals, should be the means best suited, of all others, to produce an indefinite extension, and aggravation of crime; and that there should have been annual assessments, to an immense amount, for the support of the poor, which from year to year have been most manifestly a bounty upon idleness, and a legislative provision for the progress of want, and misery, and sin. These are causes and effects, which should be well understood, and seriously pondered, in a young country; and especially in a country, whose law is the will of the people; whose institutions, of every character and name, rest on the will of the people; and whose only true greatness, and security, and happiness, is in the intelligence and virtue of the people. The truth is, that both political economists, and legislators, have too generally looked to *wealth* as the supreme good of a nation; and to the means of increasing wealth, as the means of national greatness and happiness. The working classes have therefore been regarded by them as is machinery, in relation alone to their productiveness of wealth. The question, therefore, respecting both the poor, and criminals, has been, how are they to be disposed of at the smallest expense? This very course of procedure, I believe, has quadrupled the expenses which would have been required, if legislators and political economists had acted upon the doctrine, that a nation is truly great, and powerful, only in the intelligence and the virtue of all the orders of its subjects. Let the wealth of a nation be a

and 'Crimes of the Metropolis,' published in London in 1829.

'There are probably,' says the writer of this Treatise, '70,000 persons in the metropolis, who live by theft and fraud. Most of them have children, who, as a matter of course, follow the example of their parents, and recruit the general mass of mendicity, prostitution and delinquency. This is the chief source of juvenile delinquents; who are also augmented by children abandoned by the profligate among the working classes, by those of poor debtors in confinement, of paupers without settlement, and by a few wayward spirits from reputable families, who leave their homes without cause, or from the neglect, or the misfortune, of their natural protectors. Children of this description are found in every part of the metropolis; especially in the vicinity of the theatres, the market places, the parks, and fields, and outskirts of the town. Many of them belong to organized gangs of depredators, and are in the regular employ and training of older thieves. Others obtain a precarious subsistence by begging, running errands, selling playbills, picking pockets, and pilfering from shops and stalls. Some of them never know what it is to be in a bed. They lodge in sheds, under stalls and

thousand times that of England, and let it be in the possession of the few, while the many are reared in ignorance, and are left to be goaded by want; and, when they fall into crime, are treated in any way but that in which men should be treated; and the day will come, when all this wealth will not be sufficient to appease the passions of a blind and infuriated mob. Mr Peel, in the same breath, speaks of 'the prosperity of the country,' and of what he calls 'the frightful difference,' in that very country, 'between the increase of crime, and the increase of population.' I will only say, may God save our country from such prosperity as this!

piazzas, and about brick-kilns. They have no homes. Others have homes; either with their parents, or in obscure lodging houses; but to which they cannot return, unless the day's industry or crime has produced a stipulated sum. — It is from the thousands of children so situated, that the chief mass of criminals is derived, who fill our prisons, the hulks, and convict settlements. It is a most extraordinary fact, that half the number of persons convicted of crime have not attained the age of discretion. During the last seven years, out of 16,427 commitments in the county of Surry, 7,292 were under twenty years of age; 370 under twelve years of age; and several of these were not more than eight, or ten years old.'

The question arises, what are the causes of a similar tendency to the growth of poverty and crime in our own cities? I can speak but generally of them. But I shall feel that I have accomplished much, if I can awaken that interest in the subject, which will lead others to think of it, to inquire concerning it, and to understand it.

I observe then, first, that one cause, and a considerable one, of the exposure of cities everywhere to this evil, is, that here society is divided into classes, and separated by broad and distinct lines, as it is not in the country. I have adverted to this circumstance in my former reports. In the country, and even in villages of a considerable population, every individual has a sufficient prominence, to be known to almost every other individual in his neighborhood, and perhaps in the parish in which he lives. The poor are successively laboring for those who have lands to be cultivated; they every

day see, and are seen by, the richest around them; and, even if they do not meet in the same church every Sunday, the characters and habits of each are well known to the other. In the city, on the other hand, men are not only divided, and separated, by the very great inequalities of their condition in respect to property, by the diversity of interests among them, and by their various inclinations and tastes for pleasure, but by the very fact of the extent of their numbers. Here are brought together fifty, or a hundred thousand, or it may be hundreds of thousands, living within a very narrow space, each of whom is every day passing thousands, of whose abode, and occupation, and name, he knows nothing. Even individuals in the different classes may, for a long while, and perhaps through their lives, be unknown to many even of the class to which they belong. There is, therefore, proportionally, in the vicious, a hope of escape in open shame and crime; and, for those who are inclined to crime, a hope of safety from detection in it, which they could not have in the country. And as the differences of condition are here more real, and sensible, and the sympathies of the classes with each other far weaker, the suffering of virtuous poverty will not only be often far greater, but greater too will be the recklessness of vicious poverty. These facts, I think, need not proof, or illustration. I suppose that as few of the evils of this division of classes and interests exist in Boston, as in any city of its population; for there is here a great extent of affectionate and benevolent communication between the rich and poor, though far short of what there should be. But there is a tendency to this division, and separation, in proportion to the growth of cities; and, in proportion as

men are thus at once brought together into masses, and yet separated from each other, the moral evils resulting will be great, and inevitable.

Again; as the grand field for the exercise of the arts, for the speculations of commerce, for the enterprise of the merchant, for the talents of those of every description who live by the resources of their minds, and for the laborer who has no resource but physical strength for his daily bread, cities are centres of attraction to men of every variety of principles, tastes, dispositions and habits. Here men are drawn both to accumulate, and to expend fortunes; to attract notice, and to live in luxury upon the credit they can obtain; and, to enjoy the excitement of competition, and rivalry, both in business, and in fashion. Here come large numbers, hoping to find that demand for their service, which they could not find in a smaller sphere of action; and here, of course, from the fluctuations of business, there is a constant tendency to a supply beyond the demand, in all the departments of skill, and of labor; a constant tendency to an accession of numbers, a considerable part of whom, even if they were all disposed to be honest, can look to nothing better than a condition of honest poverty, because their service is not wanted; and who, if they are without principle, will fall into dishonesty and crime. Here, also, from the same cause, will come the idle, the intemperate, and the profligate; some, from a desire to find associates; some, that they may live more easily by beggary than they can live at home; some, for the better opportunities that are here to be found, of depredating upon the property of others; and some, that they may escape notice in the crowd, and secure a better hiding place than a country neighborhood can give them.

These are evils to which there is a constant tendency to growth in cities, in proportion to their growth in numbers, and business, and wealth.

Another cause of this tendency is, the facilities which cities, in proportion to the number of their inhabitants, furnish to the indulgence of the grossest appetites, propensities, and passions. Amidst the tens, and hundreds of thousands brought together here, comprehending every diversity of character, there will be found those who will be ready to cater to every base inclination, while there are any to indulge such inclinations, and to support those who will pander to them. The smallest village may indeed have its tavern, and its dram-shop. But the screened soda shop, the gambling house, the theatre as it has been, and the brothel, can be profitable establishments, and can be maintained, only where there is a very considerable extent of profligacy, and of moral corruption. Nor can these establishments exist in a city, and be patronized by the rich, without extending their deadly influence to the poor; or be supported by those who are advanced in life, and who in any measure give the tone to public manners, without drawing into their vortex the light and frivolous among the young, and seducing them to dishonesty to obtain the means of these guilty gratifications. And while establishments of this kind are the marks and evidences of a low state of moral sentiment, of vice leading to poverty in its worst form, they are also the instruments and means of indefinitely increasing the very evils in which they originate.

Again; a large amount is annually added to the poverty and crime of our country, and especially of our cities, by the large masses of foreign poor, which are

continually thrown upon us. Poverty and vice have thus been increased in Boston, far less than in some of our cities. But any one who has thought but little of the subject, and will look into it, will, I think, soon be convinced, that it deserves more of his attention than he has given to it.

I will state but one other cause of this tendency to the growth of poverty and vice in cities; and that is, the very defective, and often the utterly neglected education, of the children of the poor. This is a subject in which I feel the strongest interest, and to which I would earnestly call serious consideration.

From an official report in behalf of the School Committee, we learn that, in November, 1829, the whole number of Schools in the city was two hundred and thirtyfive. Eighty of these were public schools, and the number of pupils in them was seven thousand four hundred and thirty. The expense for the free schools was, $65,500; and that for tuition in the private schools $107,702; making $173,202. This is indeed a very considerable expenditure for education, in a city containing about 62,000 inhabitants. This, also, it is to be considered, is independent of a large expense, which is annually incurred for the education of many children of the city in some college, or in some academy in the country. But in the same report we are also told, that, 'while the numbers attending the primary schools have increased, within the three preceding years, from 2,805, to 3,513, and the numbers in the private schools, within the same term, from 3,392, to 4,018; that is, while in these schools there has been an increase of 1,334 pupils since 1826, when the last return was made; the number of pupils now returned as members of our

free, or public schools, over 7 years of age, within three years, has diminished not far from 500; and there have been daily absences, at some of these schools, of an average from 30 to 40; and at others from 50 to 75; while, at the private schools, the average number of daily absences has been very trifling.' Whence comes this falling off of the children in our free schools, and how are we to account for these absences?

One cause of the evil is, that, as a resource for support, poor parents, to a greater extent than in former years, have taken their children from school, to place them in shops and offices as errand boys. A dollar a week is thus earned; and the mothers of these children look to this dollar, for the payment of their weekly rent. I doubt not, however, that many children are thus prepared for a vagrant and vicious life. A considerable number of young females, also, who would otherwise have been in our Free Schools, within the past two or three years have found employment in printing offices. Again. Many children are taken from school by their parents, that they may gather fuel; and by other means, as they can, assist in providing for the family. Others are stricken from their lists by the teachers, in consequence of their frequent absences; which may have been attributable to the boys themselves, they having been convicted of having been notorious truants; or, to their parents, who have so frequently kept them from school, that the teachers refuse any longer to receive them. It is also a fact, that a large number of children are sent from school, because they are not provided with the books required there; and when parents cannot at once obtain these books, their children are too often left to the exposures of our streets till they be-

come vagrants; and are either disqualified, or obstinately indisposed, to return to school. I have kept a large number in school, who would not otherwise have been there, by supplying them with books ; and I know that there are children in these schools, whose parents cannot obtain the books required for them, but from charity. These causes of occasional absence, and of entire separation from our free schools, may not reach all the cases referred to. But they will account for the evil to a considerable extent. And it is an evil which calls loudly for a remedy. Looking alone to the truants from these schools, and to those who are dismissed from them because their parents cannot provide them with school books, it is a great public interest which is concerned in the question, what is duty respecting them ? Let it be that there are but one or two hundred children in the city, who, if uncared for but by their immediate friends, will be lost. I ask, is this a number, or is it a spring of poverty and crime, to be lightly regarded by us ? And where, should they fall into crime, lies the heaviest responsibility for their guilt ?

How, then, are these tendencies to be obviated ? Or, how are these evils to be prevented, or remedied ?

I answer, that the instruments and means for these purposes are various, and I would not undervalue one of them. Our ministers and our churches, our daily and our Sunday schools, are important agents in this work. Our winter evening scientific lectures are also, I believe, exerting a greatly salutary influence ; and may, and probably will, conduce to increasing moral good. Our Athenæum, likewise, in proportion as a high order of taste, and of moral feeling, shall be excited

among us, will do much, by the opportunities which it offers to the young for intellectual and moral culture and enjoyment. Our Savings Bank is an instrument of great moral power. And much is to be done by legislation, and by municipal regulations. But a power is wanted, beyond and above all these, to secure their proper effects upon a community; and, without which, their excellent influences will be comparatively, and may be alarmingly, counteracted. A power is wanted, without which, even the best religious and literary institutions will be very limited in their operations, and even the wisest laws may become a dead letter. I refer to the power of an enlightened, and wisely extended public sentiment, on the great subjects which concern at once the well-being of the individual, and the order, security and happiness of society. What, indeed, will be the best institutions, or the best laws and ordinances, if public sentiment should be turned against them, or should want the energy that is demanded to support them? Or, should laws and municipal regulations even run in advance of public sentiment — and this will not often be the case — how inefficiently will they be administered, and executed? This is a very simple and elementary truth, and therefore is too commonly treated as a mere truism, which is heard only to be disregarded. But it is a truth which must be understood in its great bearings, and acted upon, if we would either have legislation what it should be, or secure the benefits to be derived from wise and wholesome laws. Allow me, then, in a few words, to say what I mean by an enlightened public sentiment, and of its importance on the great subject of poverty and crime, as the most effectual means by which to remedy, or to prevent, the growth of these evils.

By an enlightened public sentiment, then, I mean a public sentiment which receives its light, and its direction, at once from the great essential principles of human nature, and of *christian* truth and duty. I mean a public sentiment, which regards man universally, be he high or low, rich or poor, as an intellectual, a moral, and an immortal being; which implies in those who possess it, a just sense of the worth and excellence of their own nature, as children of God; and a corresponding sense of the worth and excellence of the nature of every individual of their race. I mean a public sentiment respecting virtue, as the supreme good of every intelligent and moral nature; and respecting talents, and all means of promoting good and happiness, as responsibilities. I mean a public sentiment, which regards the rights of others as dearly, and as faithfully, as its own; which honors and supports virtue wherever it is to be found; and, while it makes no compromise with that which it believes to be morally evil, will yet feel that the transgressor is *a brother*, who is to be *reclaimed*, and *saved*, and not cast off and destroyed, or left to find his destruction in his sin. I mean, in fine, that sentiment, which, while it comprehends the most impartial, and incorruptible justice, equally comprehends the most enlarged sympathy and benevolence of the religion of Jesus Christ. Let this be the public sentiment of a city, and of a state, and institutions for the advancement of knowledge, and piety, and virtue, will be supported, and extend more and more widely their healing and saving influences. And then laws will be what they should be, and they will be obeyed. What, indeed, are laws, but the authorized declarations of public sentiment? They will therefore be conformed to the de-

mands of society ; or, in other words, they will be conformed to the prevailing state of character, among the people for whom they are made. Public opinion will be their dictator, and to public opinion will legislators look for their sanction. What, then, can be of greater importance to the well-being of society, than an enlarged and enlightened public sentiment respecting its great vital interests, and the true means of advancing and perpetuating them ?

And is public sentiment what it should be, and what by proper efforts it might be, respecting even those causes of crime and moral ruin, of which no one can be ignorant who desires to know them; of the tendencies of which upon others, no one, however secure he may feel himself to be, has a right to be indifferent ? I know, indeed, that there are those, who feel deeply on these subjects ; but, unhappily, they are little known to each other, and therefore cannot bring the force of a united sentiment to bear upon the objects, which they would fain see accomplished. Besides, almost every man feels that he has enough to do in the care of himself, and his business, and his family. He is therefore willing to leave public concerns to the agents to whom they are entrusted; and the work of reforming great abuses, and of purifying the sources of moral corruption around him, to those who may have been affected, or injured by them. And what is the consequence of this? Evils may be springing up, and growing, and extending about him, and he knows nothing of them; or, if he be told of them, he feels no responsibility concerning them, till, perhaps, their contagion has reached the heart of his child, and blighted the fairest hopes of his life. And even then his great concern is, not to secure others

against this plague which has reached his own house; but simply, if indeed it be possible, to rescue one so dear to himself from ruin. And why is it so? Is it because there is actually no sympathy in his heart with what others do, or who may suffer like himself? No. It is because he thinks that others are as unconcerned respecting these evils, as he himself once was; and therefore he knows not how, or where, to look for a removal of them. I dare appeal on this subject to hundreds, even in our own city. Hundreds of fathers and mothers, and brothers and sisters, suffer from them; and other hundreds, though they have little knowledge compared with what they might have respecting them, are yet sometimes aware that evil and danger from these sources are near to them. And what is wanted to call forth public sentiment, and to give it a right direction, in regard to persons and places which ought to be held infamous? I answer, that public sentiment must be enlightened upon these subjects. The truth must be told, and it must be told plainly. Let things be called by their right names, and the causes and instruments of evil be exposed in their true character; and, let it appear that there are numbers who feel, and feel strongly, the evils which ought not to be tolerated; and I believe that it will not then be difficult to bring an efficient action against them. A report of a single case of yellow fever, or of plague in our city, would excite universal alarm; and the infected house would be barricaded, and shunned as the very gate of death. Or, if it were felt that the public security required it, the infected house would be razed to the ground. And in proportion as public sentiment can be made christian respecting the dram-shop, by whatever name it be called, and by whomever it

may be frequented, and the gambling-house, however it may be designated, and the brothel, and every sink of sin which sends out its foul miasmata to poison the soul; nay, in proportion as public sentiment can be combined even in the cause of the highest order of worldly morality, these moral nuisances will be felt to be objects, which call for a general and uncompromising determination for their removal. To whom, then, are we to look for this union of public sentiment? Who are to bring these great subjects and interests into those strong lights, in which they are to be seen in their true character? To whom has society a right to look for this great moral service? I should feel no difficulty in giving a most explicit answer to these questions. But I will only say, that we have many who could do much in this work. Let each one, then, feel his own responsibility to do what he can in it, and there will be among us a public sentiment, which will be far more effectual than legal enactments, and which will save hundreds, and perhaps thousands, from moral destruction.

The doctrine has too easily been admitted, and too long acted upon without dispute, that *there must be everywhere, and especially in cities, a certain amount of poverty and crime.* This doctrine, however, as it is commonly received, is as false as it is vague, and as disgraceful to those who support it, as it is ruinous to those whom it wickedly leaves to the evils from which they might be rescued. It has done, and continually is doing, more to paralyze effort in the highest departments of human benevolence, and more to repress, and even to extinguish, the highest and best sympathies of our nature, than any, or than all the other causes, which have restrained the enlightened and virtuous in their cares and endeavors

for the best good of their fellow men. But what, I would ask, is the amount which there must be of these evils? Or, what are the forms in which these evils must necessarily exist, and grow, before any means are to be used to check, or to extirpate them? A very few — not more than five or six years, — have passed, since it was thought, and said, that no hope could be more vain, than that of arresting the progress of intemperance. And yet, what has been done in this work? Not half the quantity of ardent spirits is probably now consumed in New England, that was consumed here five or six years ago. And how has this wonderful change been accomplished? By an excise on spirits, or by inflicting fine or imprisonment on those who abused them? No. But alone by enlightening and quickening public sentiment concerning the evil, and by a determined and persevering exertion to do what might be done for its remedy. The check which has been given to this deadly evil is indeed far less in our cities, than in the country. But something has been done, and much more might be done, for its removal here. We have not indeed yet learned the true mode of giving a strong moral impulse to the masses of men who are brought together into cities; and there is also a withering feeling, which is but too common, of the impracticability of acting powerfully on those masses, separated as they are from one another by their conditions, employments, tastes and interests. But if it be true, that there is this impracticability, it is itself evidence, that in congregating into cities, we are violating a plain purpose of the moral providence of God. If it be true, then every philanthropist, and every Christian, at whatever sacrifice of personal and worldly interest, is bound to separate him-

self from cities, any further than he may be called to them to do what he can to check their growth, and to lessen their numbers. Who, indeed, can deliberately admit this doctrine, and not acknowledge, that the greatest benefactor to a country would be the man, who should be the instrument of breaking up every city in it, and as widely as possible of scattering its inhabitants? The truth, however, is, that the absurdity of the doctrine is not seen and felt, because it is not distinctly brought before the mind in its actual character and consequences. Let cities be left to grow up under the unchecked influences of mere municipal ordinances, and of a mere worldly morality, and they will become 'great sores' upon the body politic, which, like those of the natural body, may become incurable. But there is a stage in their advancement even to the greatest danger of this result, in which they are not to be despaired of; and in which the evil that adheres to them may be arrested, and healed. I believe, indeed, that they may be made the centres as well of the purest and highest religious and moral influences, as of the highest intellectual culture, and of the greatest advancement in arts and science; and that the most vigorous growth of all the christian virtues may even be made a characteristic of cities. But this, of course, will not, and cannot be, while the unchristian state of public sentiment respecting human interests and duties continues to be what it has been. Here is the true source of the evil, and here, too, the only effectual means of its correction.

I know not how to speak worthily upon this great topic; or how to speak of it in a manner to excite the interest which it claims, and to secure its rightful and most salutary influence. With some, as I well know, even

a reference to an unchristian state of public sentiment, as the cause of the peculiar moral dangers of cities, and to christianity as the only redeeming power by which they may be saved from an ever increasing corruption, exposes him who makes it to any designation, but that of a practical man ; while by others the suggestion may be received without disapprobation, but, at the same time, without even a momentary disposition to add anything to his contribution to this most important of the means of public happiness. At once, however, for illustration of what I mean, and for confirmation of its truth, I would ask, why is it that a parent in the country dreads to send his child to be an apprentice in the city? And why is it that even parents in the city, who have all the advantages of home for moral influence over their children, are yet so often obliged to live in the most wearing anxiety concerning them ? And why are parents here so often brought to suffer the severest anguish of the soul, that of a self-condemning conscience alone excepted, by the disappointment, the blast of parental hope, in the moral ruin of their children ? Is it because the sources of this deadly influence are unknown ? Who knows not, or who might not know, whence come the intemperance, and the profligacy, so alarming in the city, and the dishonesty by which they are supported ? I have referred to their causes ; and I ask, in view of them, are the evils springing from them irremediable ? Let these evils, and their causes, be spread before every family; and let the wise and virtuous among us, each in the way best suited to himself, contribute his influence to the advancement of the greatest good of those around him. Then will the ministers of law be indeed ministers of God for good to

the people. Let government be secure of support in strong measures for the maintenance of public vritue, and those measures will be taken. Licenses will then be restricted as they should be; and profligacy, not among the poor only, but among all classes, will be punished as it should be. At present, however, law is hardly a check upon these evils. I can but glance at subjects, which demand a faithful exposition. But I most earnestly entreat the attention of those, who can give this exposition of them.

I will only add, that the rich know not how much they lose, even of the means of a vast accession to their personal happiness, by the distance at which they too generally live from the poor; by the absence of that sympathy, which, principally through their own fault, the employed would otherwise feel with his employer; and, by the neglect of the frequent opportunities which are occurring, by an intimate and kind intercourse with a few poor families, of performing for them, at a very small cost, some of the most grateful offices of life. Let those whom God has blessed with abundance feel for the poor, as christianity intends that they should feel for them, and not only will there be a ministry for the poor of cities, which will comprehend within its cares every poor family within them; but every individual, according to his means and opportunities, will feel a responsibility for the improvement and happiness of some of the less favored of his fellow beings around him. Let this sentiment be extended, and the great question in regard either to poverty, or crime, will not be, what is the pecuniary appropriation to be required? but, alone, how is the greatest ultimate good to be attained? An enlightened public sentiment has achieved

much for us in our free schools. But let this sentiment be what it should be in regard to the education, and the salvation of the young, and not a lad would be out of these schools, who should be in them. Let there be, as I think there should be, a superintendant, with regard to schools, of children between the ages of 4 and 14 years, whose duty it should be, to place every boy and girl whom he finds out of school, and unemployed, in one of our public schools; and, where any one, through filial disobedience, cannot be kept in one of these schools, let it be the duty of this superintendant to take proper measures for his or her moral security; and the good obtained would be incalculably great. Considered only as an economical expedient, I think that it would be second to no one that could be proposed.*

* There are vagrant boys in our streets, and on our wharves, who should be in the school for Juvenile Delinquents. It would be the highest possible exercise of charity towards them, to place them there. I know of no other means of their rescue from ruin. Let there be such an officer as I have proposed, and these boys would come under his charge. Nor in this, or in any other department of his charge of the children referred to, need there be the smallest encroachment on the rights either of parents, or of their children. This superintendant might, likewise, almost daily be adding much to the relief and comfort of parents among the poor, as well as to the general order and security, by providing places for children in families; and, especially, by apprenticing as many as possible, or otherwise providing for them, *in the country*. It is hardly to be conceived with what difficulties poor parents, and especially poor widows, often have to struggle, in obtaining employment for their children; and many children are lost, wholly from the want of a friend at that critical time, when they must be taken from school, or are just taken from it, and when their parents know not what to do with them. I do not know of any office in which a greater amount of moral good may be done, than it would

Then, too, whatever be the cost to be incurred, there would not be tolerated for a year among us, nor unnecessarily for a month, a prison, which is preparing the young transgressor who is sent to it, to come forth from it at least as much worse than he was at entering it, as the most experienced and willing teachers of iniquity can make him. — But here, again, I must not enlarge. Suffer me only once more, in view of the admonitory lessons to which I have adverted, to address myself to the professional man, to the merchant, and to the mechanic; to all who have property, and to all who hope to have, and to enjoy it; to parents, guardians and masters; to those who respect the laws, and would maintain them; and, above all, to those who call themselves, and who would be, Christians. Whose interests are untouched by the great questions respecting poverty and crime? Who has a right to be indifferent concerning them? Who, if he will, may not contribute something to relieve the wants, and to advance the moral security, and the best good of the poor; something to stay the progress of sin; and something to save some of the rising, or the risen generation, from moral death?

In closing the fourth year of the ministry in which I am engaged, allow me to say, that I feel a gratitude and happiness which I cannot express to you, in a recurrence to the privileges with which I have been

be in the power of this superintendant, if he have the spirit of his office, to accomplish; or one, by which the vital interests of the city would be more essentially served. This office would be as properly municipal, as that of a city marshal. Would not public opinion, then, support our city authorities in establishing it?

blessed in this most interesting work. During the past year, my visits have been divided between about five hundred and fifty families. With some of them, from various causes, my acquaintance has been short. Bu even here it has furnished opportunity for useful services. With a very considerable number, however, my connexion is that of a pastor with his flock. It is a connexion of christian respect, and sympathy, and affection. They would neither remove, nor would any event important to their happiness befall them, without my knowledge. The relation we sustain to each other, and the mutual influences exerted by it, are, I think, of the most benignant and salutary character. I am sure that it is as grateful to my own heart, as it can be to the hearts even of those who most highly appreciate it. Should the ministers engaged in this service ever be willing to divide the city into districts, and thus to narrow the circle of their labors, I believe that nearly double the amount of good might be done by each one of them. Many families are without a pastor, which, with no other agent than we now have in this work, might, I believe, obtain all the benefits of a regular pastoral care.

To the benefactors of my poor purse I renew my best thanks. They are not less my own, than the benefactors of those whom I serve. May the blessings of those who have been ready to perish come upon them; and ten thousand fold be repaid into their bosoms, for all their christian kindness to their suffering fellow beings!

Respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

November 5th, 1830.

(12)

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MR TUCKERMAN'S

SEVENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT

OF HIS SERVICE AS A

MINISTER AT LARGE IN BOSTON.

PRINTED FOR THE

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'The most effectual way to check the growth of great offences, is, to check the growth of little ones.'—*London Quarterly Review, January*, 1831.

'The experiment made of the Institution for the reformation of Juvenile Offenders, under the admirable system of discipline and education adopted by the highly gifted and benevolent Principal of the House, is most encouraging; and leaves nothing to regret, but the want of means to extend its usefulness. To provide these, and thus to rescue from crime and ruin the unfortunate objects who might there find an asylum, would be an occupation at all times worthy of the persevering attention of the city government'.—*Address of the Mayor to the City Council of Boston, on the 3d of January*, 1831.

'The best penitentiary institution which was ever devised by the art, and established by the beneficence of man, is, in all probability, the House for the reformation of Juvenile Delinquents.'—*Governor Clinton's Message to the New York Legislature.*

'It is a rare occurrence indeed to find persons of cultivated minds in an Alms-House.'—*Report of the Commissioners of the New York Alms-House, September*, 1830.

REPORT.

To the Executive Committee of the
AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN, — There is no single topic belonging to the great subjects of poverty and crime, which is in itself so important, and has so strong a claim upon public interest, as the condition of the morally neglected and vicious children, a large part of whom, if they shall be left to the influences under which they are now living, will inevitably become early proficients in depravity, lost to all that is truly good and happy, and the bane of society; and, if they shall not be brought to our prisons, and even fall the victims of violated law, will almost certainly live in a state of abject want, and die in the debasement of unrepented sin. I referred to this topic in the close of my last Report, and I beg leave here to resume it. Would that I could speak of it in a manner in any degree commensurate with the greatness of its claims, whether we regard the individuals immediately concerned in it, or those without whose instrumentality they cannot be rescued from the ruin which threatens them; or, whether we look to the immediate, or the final conse-

quences, of the ignorance, transgression, and exposures in which we find them.

I could neither satisfy myself, nor others, by any general language upon this topic. The principal cause, I am persuaded, of the little interest which is felt in it, is, the vagueness of general conception concerning it; and this is to be obviated only by a statement of facts, by which the character and extent of the evil to be remedied may be distinctly seen. I rejoice indeed to know, that there is in our community a very widely extended, and an active sympathy, as well with the moral, as with the physical condition of the poor. But this sympathy is not yet, by any means, what it should be. It is too general, where it should be particular; and therefore too indefinite, to awaken the strong sense which should be felt of personal obligation in the cause. It has indeed provided two ministers for the religious instruction of seamen, and five others exclusively for the service of the poor. Nor is this all. To myself at least, — and I know not how far to others, — it has most liberally extended the means of adding to moral and religious instruction, the relief, to large numbers, of pressing want, and of severe suffering. Yet this ministry will very partially accomplish the objects which ought to be comprehended in it, if it shall fail to call forth in its supporters a stronger feeling of their moral relation to the poor; if it shall fail of bringing them into a closer connexion with the less prospered classes of their fellow-beings; and if it shall be viewed, and maintained, as a substitute for the personal services, which might otherwise, perhaps, be thought obligatory. I should indeed look with no pleasure upon this ministry, if I must feel

that its tendency will be to lessen the sense of obligation in its patrons, according to their means and opportunities to do what they can, not only for the temporary relief, but for the permanent improvement and the salvation of those, to whom they may extend their personal interest, and care, and kindness. I have endeavored, therefore, in my Reports, to call forth in those for whom they are intended, a feeling of personal responsibleness in the work of improving the condition, by improving the character of society among us. On the topic upon which I would now address you, this feeling is of an importance which can hardly be exaggerated. If the evils of which I am to speak be in any due degree apprehended, they will, and they must, excite this feeling in the breast of every Christian, of every philanthropist among us.

I have said, that the prevailing conceptions respecting these children are vague. That I may do what I can to awaken the interest that should be felt in them, I will attempt to classify them. There is a great difference of condition, and of character among them, and very different measures are to be taken for their rescue, and happiness. In regard to these measures, in certain cases, there may be a diversity of opinion; and if any may be proposed, that are wiser than those I shall suggest, I shall heartily rejoice in the preference which may be given to them. But I think there will be no difference of opinion upon the question, should these children, or should they not, be disregarded by us? As citizens, as philanthropists, as Christians, can we justify our neglect of them?

Of the children of whom I have spoken, let me first call your attention to those who are between seven and fourteen years of age. And of these, I would first speak of *the boys*, whom I would divide into three classes.

The *first* class consists of those who cannot read, and who therefore cannot obtain admission into our grammar schools.

It may be asked by some,— have we, in truth, children in our city, who are at an age to be in our grammar schools, but who cannot read well enough to enter them? I answer, — we have. Four years ago there was a school in Scott's court, supported by private contributions, expressly for children of this description. This school was so maintained for eighteen months; and there were in it, during that time, seventy children, about three fourths of whom were boys. In that school, thirty children were fitted to enter a grammar school; of whom, twentyfour were placed in one or another of our grammar schools, and employment was found for the remaining six, either in the city or the country. And had there been three similar schools in other parts of the city, I have no doubt they might have been supplied with an equal number of children, as unqualified as these were for our free schools. Some of these were the children of parents who had neglected to send them to our preparatory, or primary schools. But a still greater number were the children of foreigners, or of parents who had removed from the country to the city; and they were brought here unable to read, at an age at which they could not be sent to our primary schools. Now it is very absurd to say, that this is an

unavoidable evil; that we have no accountableness for the ignorance of these children; and that they must therefore be left to take the consequences of the poverty and crime into which they may fall. The truth is, that, to a great extent at least, the evil may be remedied. Besides, let it be considered, that these children are to continue with us, and are by and by to form a part of our efficient population, for weal or for wo. And it is not only probable, but almost certain, that if they shall be left to grow up in their ignorance, they will not only be poor, but a large, and probably the largest, part of them will be grossly vicious. Nor can it be, that we should not be partakers of the consequences of their poverty and vice. They must, should they fall into want, or crime, be supported from our property, either through charity, or taxation, or theft. There is then a strong immediate interest concerned in the question, should we, or should we not, make some provision for these children?

Of this class, however, I would make two divisions. The first division consists of those who are profane, and vulgar in conversation; impertinent in manners; regardless of parental authority; fond of ardent spirits; accustomed to falsehood; and, as far as they can be at their age, to petty gambling, and to pilfering. — The second division consists of those, who, either from having been under less unfavorable influences at home, or from less natural strength of propensity and passion, have not fallen into the vices of the first division. These if brought under the instruction which will qualify them for our grammar schools, by this care alone might be recovered, and probably be trained to be worthy citizens

and good men. But other measures are required for the salvation of those of the first division. These measures, however, are within the scope of our power; and ours will be the fault if we fail to enforce them.

The *second* class consists of those, who, although they can read, and might therefore be in our grammar schools, either have not yet been placed in them, or from various causes have been taken from them by their parents.

Of those who can read, but are not known to our instructers, and are idlers and vagrants when they should be at school, some by reason of the poverty, but a greater number through the inefficiency, or the vicious habits of their parents, were either allowed to run at large at the time when they should have been transferred from the primary to the grammar schools; or they were kept from school for the sake of the occasional services they could render, in obtaining food and fuel for their families. Some of these are also the children of foreigners, and of parents from the country, who have neglected to avail themselves of the privileges of our free schools. And of those who have been in these schools and have been taken from them, some are the children of parents who could not, or who, at the expense of the least self-denial, would not, obtain the books that were required for them. Some, as I have been told by parents, were allowed to leave school, because it was intended to send them into the country; — an intention which has been delayed, till it has been forgotten. And some have been removed from school, to be placed in shops and offices, from which they have been dismissed

for unfaithfulness, or because their services were no longer wanted.— Of this class I would likewise form two divisions, corresponding with those of the first. In one division I would place those, who, in disposition and practice, are vicious; who are corrupting one another, and will corrupt all who shall have intercourse with them. However qualified, as far as knowledge is concerned, for our grammar schools, these ought not to be admitted into them. Other provision should be made for them. In the other division I would place those, who, with better moral dispositions, and a higher order of general character, require only the intervention of one interested in their well-being to place them in our free schools. Admitted and fixed there, and still kept under the kindly eye of the friend who interposed to save them, they would probably be made useful, respectable and happy.

The *third* class consists of truants from our schools. Of these also I would form two divisions.

The first division consists of those, who have lost their places in our grammar schools, and are stricken from the lists of the teachers. Even among these, however, an important distinction is to be recognised. By far the largest part of this division consists of those, who ought not to be sent again to our free schools. They are associates, and are partakers of the vices, of the worst division of the two first classes; and are not behind them in any wickedness. But there are those among them, who, from mere weakness of character, and the absence of all judicious restraints at home, have been led away by the persuasions, or the artifices, of others. These, if taken into the moral charge of a

friend, or of friends, who will watch over and encourage them, may be restored to the schools from which they have been excluded. I would not, therefore, have them confounded with those, for whose salvation, if it is to be obtained, other and more authoritative measures must be taken. — In the second division I would place those, who are but occasionally, and even those who are frequently but not habitually, truants; and who, if unchecked and unguarded, will soon fall into the first division of this class. Of this division I would observe, that all should be considered as recoverable, merely by a restoration of them to our free schools. No boy becomes at once an obdurate truant, or in any respect obdurately vicious. But he who has begun to be a truant, if he shall be left uncared for, will probably sink into the corruption of those with whom he seeks his pleasures, and become a vagrant. The restoration of a boy of this description to our free schools, I consider, therefore, as the most important service which can possibly be rendered to him. Nor is it an unimportant service to the whole community of which he is a member.

I must say a few words also of the *female children*, who should be, but are not in our schools. These I would likewise divide into three classes.

In the *first class* I would place those, who cannot read well enough to be received into our grammar schools. And where this is the only cause which keeps them from school, it would seem that it could not be very difficult to obtain a remedy of the evil. There could hardly be a wiser economy than that of maintaining three or four charity schools in the city, for boys and

girls of this description. There is now in Salem street, one school of this sort for girls, which has been kept three and a half years. Its number is limited to fifty; and the average number in it is forty. But it is often full. I have no doubt this school has been for the moral salvation of many.

The *second class* consists of those, who, having been kept from school by the inability, or the failure from other causes, of their parents to purchase the books required for them, are growing up in ignorance, and exposed to every moral danger. Where the evil arises from parental neglect, the parent is to be excited to his or her duty to the child. And much may be done in giving this excitement to parents who need it. And where there is an actual inability to obtain the books required, there is benevolence enough in our community, if it can be felt that the kindness will not be abused, to meet the necessities of every parent and child in the city who shall so need it.

The *third class* are the children of parents, who have little or no care for the intellectual, or the moral culture of their offspring. Girls of this description are frequently to be seen in our streets, in the filthy and tattered garments, which indicate the character of the poverty in which they live at home. Some of them, however, by their attire, would intimate better things of those who have the charge of them. These girls are sometimes the playfellows of the vicious boys of their age, and are scarcely less viciously inclined. The best condition to be hoped for concerning them, if left to go on in the course in which they now are, is one of abject poverty. But it is at least equally probable, that they

will become as corrupt, as they are ignorant and destitute.

I repeat, that the children of whom I have here spoken are under fourteen years of age. Is it asked, how many, probably, are there of these children? I answer, certainly not less, I think, than between three and four hundred.

But there is another, and a very large class, which forces itself upon our notice, and which has not less claims upon the interest and sympathy of our community. I refer to the boys, between fourteen, and sixteen or seventeen years of age, *who are without any regular employment;* and a large part of whom, if neglected, will at best become paupers, and probably sink into the debasement even of the grossest sins.

This class consists principally, but not wholly, of those who have arrived at this period of life without having received the elementary instruction, which would have qualified them to have served as apprentices in the different mechanic employments; and of those who, as truants, and as otherwise vicious, have learned to prefer a life of vagrancy. Of these I would form one division. But this class comprehends also a considerable number, who have been employed as errand boys, but from various causes have lost their places, and are thus daily brought into connexion with the above named classes of idlers; and of some also, who, having completed their term at school, are *wanting places*, and in the meantime are wandering through our streets, to find companions or pleasure, where they may. Of these, I would form another division. Even of the first, and worst division, however, it may reasonably

be assumed, that nearly all may be recovered to a life of usefulness. And of the last division, it ought to be held, that *all may be saved.*

The character and condition of the bad boys of this class is the most pitiable, the most deplorable, which can well be imagined. And they have strong claims upon us, because, in truth, their own is not the heaviest part of the responsibility for their characters, and for their offences. There is a greater weight of accountableness for their condition upon others. Many, and perhaps most of them, have been reared amidst the worst examples; and never knew the kindly influence of an affectionate and a religious interest in their welfare and happiness. And never can they know it, but through the sympathy of those, who will seek them out, that they may save them. Let any one, then, who is accustomed to pass them unnoticed, but who would know, as far as he may by seeing them, who, and what they are, look about him as he passes through Sea Street, or Broad Street. Let him go upon our large wharves, especially in the northern parts of the city, or to Faneuil Hall Market, and look at those who are daily to be seen there. Let him ask the Superintendent of our market, or our wharfingers, respecting these boys, and their means of subsistence? It is not a question, whether, living as they now live, they are every day becoming more and more depraved, and more and more fitted for aggravated crime; nor, whether they are daily extending the corrupting influence of their example to others much younger than themselves, as well as to many of their own age. But it is a question, which should engage the serious consideration of all among us,

whether measures cannot be devised, which will be effectual for their salvation?*

Let us then fairly meet the question, how are these evils, as far as they exist, to be remedied; and, how may we most effectually prevent a recurrence of them?

I reply, that, for the purpose both of cure and of prevention, the first thing requisite is a right apprehension, by the intelligent and moral among us, of the extent and character of these evils, and of personal obligation to supply a remedy.

In my last Report, I spoke of an enlightened public sentiment respecting the extent and true character of any evils existing in a community, as the first in order, and the most important, of the means of arresting, of remedying, and of preventing a recurrence of these evils. And grateful indeed should I be, if I could do anything to call forth this sentiment, in regard to the classes of children I have brought before you; for, far the greatest number of them would then be saved from the ruin with which they are now threatened. And is it not wonderful, that, in this community, so full of benevolent enterprise, and where such generous provision

* Some of the boys around Faneuil Hall Market are employed as porters, or carriers of the articles bought for families at the market. It is greatly to be regretted that these boys should find employment there; not only from the fact, that the small sums which they thus obtain are expended for vicious indulgences, but because their example induces others of their age to seek a share of this employment, for the sake of sharing in these vicious pleasures. There should be *licensed porters for our markets*, and no others should be allowed to act there in that capacity. There are many poor men in the city, whose infirmities disqualify them for hard labor; but who, as Market Porters, might obtain a comfortable support for their families.

is made for the instruction of the young; where it is so well understood that an idle, uneducated, and vicious youth is the sure presage of, and preparation for, a profligate, debased, and wretched manhood, and where there is so much solicitude among parents for the virtue, the security, and well-being of their children; is it not wonderful, that there should be among us so great a supineness, in respect to the large number of those children, of whom, if left neglected, it is quite as certain that eight out of ten will become tenants of our prisons, or at least will be vagrants, or more or less dependent on charity through their life, as it is certain that they will live for a few years? I believe, indeed, that the true character and extent of this evil are not generally understood. It is not improbable, that some may even be slow to admit, that there are, in this City of Schools, more than three hundred of an age to be in these schools, and who ought to be in them, who are yet deriving no benefit from them; and that there are probably at the least two hundred more, between the ages of fourteen and sixteen or seventeen, who are without employment, are often a heavy burden upon their parents, and are already greatly vicious for their time of life; or, as the companions of the vicious, are in the way to profligacy and crime, or at best to beggary and wretchedness. I earnestly pray that a spirit of inquiry may be awakened on this subject. I beseech the intelligent and virtuous among us; I beseech the parents, who are endeavoring to train their children to virtue, and who are aware of the danger to their children of the contaminating influence of vicious examples; and I, earnestly entreat all who are interested in the cause of public order, security and happiness, to look to

the condition of the children of whom I have spoken; and then to ask, and deliberately to consider, what is their own, and the true interest of all, in regard to these children? I have said, that these children may be saved. Is it asked, how? Allow me to enter into some details in answering this question.

I have already remarked, that there is a great diversity in the moral condition of these children. Some of them, also, have anxious parents, who want nothing on earth so much, as a friend to aid them in the care and discipline of their children. Many are the children of widows, who can neither keep them at home, nor follow them abroad. And many are the children of intemperate, and of heedless and reckless parents. Different provisions are therefore to be made for them, and different dispositions to be made of them. Of those, for example, between seven and fourteen years of age, who cannot read, and cannot therefore be received in our grammar schools, far the greatest number might be rescued from the degradation to which they are exposed, by the establishment of three or four private schools, in which they might be qualified for admission into our free schools. Of the truants from our schools, many, who have not yet become strongly attached to vicious associates, might be restored to their places in these schools, and might be kept there. Many, too, of the lads from twelve to fourteen, as well as of those from fourteen to sixteen years of age, might be apprenticed to farmers, and to mechanics, *in the country*. And great is the good that is obtained, when this disposition is made of a boy who has been, or who otherwise would have been, a vagrant in our streets. And, for those who are decidedly vicious, at an age under sixteen

years, — and not for these only, but for those also, who, as truants, and as the companions of the idle and vicious, are so averse from the discipline of a school, that they are not by any persuasions to be kept there; — for these, the wisest, the best, the most effectual of all provisions, is, *the School of Reformation at South Boston.* Is it said, all this may be very well, and might indeed be conducive to great good, if it could be accomplished? And why, I ask, may it not all be accomplished? The expense to be incurred in effecting all these objects will not amount to a tenth, or even to a twentieth part of that which must be incurred for the public provision, which must ultimately be made for these very children, if they shall be suffered, as they have been, to go on increasing in numbers, and in sin. Still these objects are not to be attained without some expense. Let us then deliberately count the cost, and fairly compare it with the gain which it will bring to us.

Here, then, are some hundreds of children, who are in various ways to be provided for. And, I ask, is not the supervision of these children a charge sufficiently extensive, and requiring sufficient care and labor, for any one individual, whatever may be the capacity and suitableness for the service, which he may bring to it? Let me say, then, there should be *a Municipal Officer*, call him by what name you will, whose special duty it should be, to look to the idle, vagrant, and vicious children of the city. This, I say, should be his specific duty; for within this limitation he could have the authority of law to support him. And if this officer should do nothing more, than, availing himself of the power which existing laws will already give him to prosecute, and thus to bring to the judgment of a court, the child-

ren who ought to be sent to the School of Reformation, he would perform at once for these children, for their parents, and for the public, an invaluable service: a service which, alone, would be a rich compensation for the expense at which it must be maintained. But, though this might be the only authority with which he could be legally invested, in regard to the classes of children of whom I have spoken, the work of thus disposing of these children would constitute but a single branch of the service he might render. Let him be a man of intelligence and energy, of sound judgment and of active kindness, — a man who understands and feels what is to be lost by the moral ruin, and what is to be gained by the moral recovery, of a child. Let him take cognisance, as he should, of every child who shall be found out of school when he should be in school, and of every lad over fourteen years of age who is wandering through our streets without employment, and acquaint himself with the parents and friends of these children; and let him offer his assistance to children and to parents to obtain employment, especially in the country, for those who may be sent to farmers and mechanics there, and to restore to our schools the children who have left but who should be in them; and he will thus do as much for the prevention, as, by the authority with which he might be invested by law, he could do for the remedy of evil. I have had some, though a limited experience in each of these departments of service; and I know that very great good may be done in it. Let it be known, that there is a public officer, whose business is the charge of lawless and profligate children, and the immediate effect will be a great and powerful restraint upon those, whose dispositions and tendencies are to

evil, but whose interests and pleasures are not yet so amalgamated with those of their vicious associates, that they cannot be separated from them. Many will thus be induced to retrace their steps, and to return to duty; and many will be kept from entering the paths, the end of which they will perceive is disgrace and punishment.

I may here observe also, that the Directors of the House of Industry, and of the School of Reformation, are not allowed to apprentice, or otherwise to dispose of any of the children in these institutions, except within the limits of the commonwealth. Nor can they even meet all the applications which are made to them for children, by farmers and mechanics in the country, within these limits. Applications, however, are made also from the neighboring states for children of the poor in the city; and a standing advertisement in 'the New England Farmer,' and an occasional one in some of our city newspapers, that boys or children for the country can be supplied by the officer I have referred to, would give him facilities for a greatly advantageous disposition of a considerable number, for whom so good a provision could in no other manner be made. — I know not, indeed, how the city government could make a wiser annual appropriation of a few hundred dollars, than for the support of this office. It ought to be filled by one, who will be respected, and trusted in it; who will deserve and obtain the confidence of the parents, whose children may fall under his charge; and by one, who shall be capable of making full and satisfactory reports, both of what he shall learn upon the subjects connected with his office, and of his doings in it. It should not, therefore, be the great question in view of this office, how can it be filled most cheaply? In

my judgment, allow me to say, the question of well or ill paved streets, or of disordered or well conditioned sewers, or even of wise or unwise ordinances and establishments for the preservation of the health of the city, is of minor interest, — of secondary importance.*

Our School of Reformation is daily becoming more extensively known, and daily rising in reputation among us. Nor have I any apprehension, while it shall be in the charge of its present Superintendent, that it will disappoint any fair expectations that may be formed of its beneficial tendencies. I know, indeed, of no other individual, who could have done what Mr Wells has done in that School; and, in the very important work of making it what it should be, he is scarcely less impor-

* The School of Reformation at South Boston was opened in September, 1826. — The Rev. Mr Wells took the charge of it in November, 1828. — The number who have been sent to the school is 294. — There have been received into it, since it has been in the care of Mr Wells, 202. — There are now in the school 93 children; 84 boys, and 9 girls. — Of these 84 boys, 66 are children of Americans, and 16 of foreigners; of 2, the parentage is not known with certainty. — Of the American children, 19 were brought from the country to the city, and 45 were born in Boston. — Of these boys, 5 were taught in our primary schools, but were not transferred to a grammar school; 25 could not read when they were sent to the School of Reformation; and 53 have been truants from our schools. —— I do not think it proper to state the offences for which these boys were sent to the School of Reformation. My object is, to throw some light, if I may, upon the causes which have led to those offences; and, upon the means of their remedy, and prevention. I have, however, the highest satisfaction in being able to say, that, of 136 boys whom Mr Wells has apprenticed, 116 may fairly be viewed as *good boys*. They are doing well. Doubts are felt concerning 15; and 5 are considered as bad. If these facts will not call forth both private and public favor for this School, I know not how that favor is to be obtained for it.

tant to the institution, than the institution is to the city. But there are yet many among our intelligent citizens, who have no adequate conceptions of the character and objects of this School. It is even confounded, by not a few, with the House of Correction, to which, however, it is scarcely more like, than the House of Correction is to what it should be; and a greater dissimilarity than this can hardly be imagined. Very grateful, therefore, shall I be, if I may do anything to correct any erroneous impressions respecting it; and to awaken in any minds a stronger interest in its prosperity and success. Even as it now is, this School is exerting a redeeming power, which should awaken in our community a universal interest in the cause of maintaining and extending its usefulness. But it is susceptible of great improvements. What it has achieved, is but a strong indication of what it may do. There is, in truth, I believe, no single means that can be devised, by which so much can be done to diminish the work of our criminal courts; so much to lessen the number of the inmates of our prisons and alms-houses, and the consequent expense of these institutions; and so much at once for the salvation of those who are exposed to moral ruin, and therefore for general order and security, as by the School of Reformation, if it shall be made, what it is not only practicable, but what it will be the truest economy to make it. I have long seen and felt the defects, as well as the excellencies, of this institution. But, unwilling to give you only my own convictions on the subject, I addressed a note to the Rev. Mr Wells, the Superintendent of the School, requesting him to inform me what are the most important changes he would suggest, with a view to its more successful operation.

I feel, therefore, a strong confidence in offering the following propositions, as containing at once the results of his experience in the school, and of my own observations of it.

First. That there should be a distinct Board of Directors of the School, to be appointed annually by the city government.

Second. That the Executive Head, or Principal of the institution, should be, ex officio, a member of the Board of Directors.

Third. That a building should be erected for the institution, which should be suited, as the present building is not, for its various objects.

Fourth. That the city should procure a good farm for the institution. By means of a farm for spring, summer and autumn work, and of work-shops for winter, the boys might almost, or wholly, support themselves.

Fifth. That the Legislature be petitioned for an amendment of the present act for the incorporation of the School, by an act which shall authorize the Directors to receive from any court in this state, and authorizing also all the courts in the state to send to such Directors, any such minors convicted before such courts, as may be deemed and decided to be proper members of the School; the parents or guardians of such children, or in case of their inability the town or parish to which such children may belong, or the state, paying the institution, for the care and education of such children, at the rate of fifty dollars per year. And further authorizing such Directors to examine, and try such minors as may be brought before them, and to send such of them to the School as shall be shown and proved to be proper members of the institution; in such cases the

Board having authority to act as a court, from whose judgment there may lie an appeal to a trial by jury. And in case of commitment by such process, the parents or guardians of the children, who shall be so sent to the school, shall be required, if they shall be able to do it, to pay for the board and instruction of the children who shall be so sent, to an amount, or at a rate, not exceeding fifty dollars per year. And, in case any parent or guardian may wish to send his child or ward to this School, without any judicial process, but still because the child is refractory, and disobedient, that the Directors shall be allowed to receive such child into the school, the parent or guardian agreeing to pay for the board and education of the child, at the rate of seventy-five dollars per year; and, having also the right to take him or her from the school, at any time after the expiration of six months from the time of his or her admission to it. Also, further to authorise the Directors, or in cases of emergency the Principal of the institution, to send to any part of the commonwealth for any members of the School, who may have unlawfully left it, and to return them to the institution.

And, *Sixth.* That if the city shall not be willing to build the proposed house, it is respectfully suggested, that the city should furnish the land for it; and that a company of gentlemen, if such a company can be formed, should build the house. A mortgage of the house and land would be good security of their property to such a company; and it is believed, that a good interest on their investment might be obtained from the avails of those children, who will be sent agreeably to the provisions in the foregoing proposition; the city agreeing to use the building for the purposes for which it shall be

erected, and reserving the right, at will and on terms to be agreed upon, of purchasing it of the stockholders.

Little, I trust, need be said, of the importance of a new and very different building from that now used, for the purposes of this institution; of a building at once suited for security of the inmates against elopement, and yet having as little as may be of the structure and the appearance of a prison. The fact is, that for far the greatest number of boys in this School, after a short residence in it, no peculiar provisions for confinement would be required. But such provisions would be requisite *for some*, and must therefore be made. Still they should not be extended beyond the necessity of the case. It is important, also, for the purposes of the institution, that there should be a building, which will admit of classifications and divisions of the children sent to it; and, which will be favorable to the various work, in which it may be thought proper to employ them. By the admirable discipline and order which he has established in his School, Mr Wells has done all, which I believe any man could do, to obviate the disadvantages which are inseparable from the building, in which the School is now established. — But I leave this topic, convinced that, should the interest which it deserves be excited in regard to the institution, the first improvement which will be called for will be a house, which shall be suited for the purposes of *a School of Reformation*. There are, however, two other topics suggested in these propositions, of which I beg leave to say a few words.

First. What is the great end, and aim, of this institution; and, how should it be viewed, and represented by us?

I answer, in the words of Mr Sargeant, President of a similar institution in Philadelphia, 'it is, in the strictest sense of the terms, a work of charity and mercy. Whatever else may be contemplated, — and certainly extensive public advantages are to be expected from it, — is only incidental. This School presents no vindictive, or reproachful aspects. It threatens no humiliating recollections of the past. It holds out no degrading denunciations for the future.' It is, indeed, a School for those who have greatly violated duty, and are to be *reformed.* But though its inmates are sent to it by public authority, and can be discharged from it only by the authority of those who sent them there; and though in leaving the institution they are to pass into the charge of others, who will be accountable for them till they shall be of lawful age to those, from whose immediate watchfulness and care they have received them; still it is to be regarded, *not as a prison,* but *as a school.* Mr Wells considers every boy who enters his school as *reclaimable.* His object is, to give to each one an intellectual, a physical and a moral education, which will prepare him to be a respectable and a respected member of society — a useful and happy man. And most encouraging is the promise of this institution. Let not the children, then, who are sent there, unnecessarily be made to feel, that they have the brand of crime upon their foreheads, and that they are to be recognised as having been criminals. Many of them are not morally worse than are other boys, who will not be sent there; and who, through the faithful guardianship of judicious and kind friends, into whose charge it has been their privilege to fall, will be recovered to virtue, and loved and valued as if they had never fallen from it.

To treat them as if they are reclaimable, and will unquestionably be reclaimed, will be one of the most effectual means of securing their salvation.

Secondly. Who are the proper subjects of this institution; and, how are they to be sent to it, and retained in it?

I would reply, that, except under very extraordinary circumstances, no one should be admitted into this School, while he is under ten years of age. But, with certain restrictions, it should be open to any one under twenty years old. The extreme age to which any one should be sent there, with a view to apprenticeship in the country, should, perhaps, be fifteen years; with the opportunity of remaining a year in preparation for this apprenticeship. But if any shall be sent who are over sixteen years of age, it should be for discipline and instruction, preparatory to a whaling voyage. And unspeakably great would be the gain to the individual and to the community, if, instead of sending any minor either to our Jail or House of Correction, where a confinement of a fortnight or three weeks only will almost certainly complete and insure his moral ruin, our courts were required to sentence every criminal who is brought before them under lawful age, unless he shall be sent to the State Prison, to the School of Reformation; there to remain, only till a voyage can be obtained for him, which will remove him for one or perhaps two years from the scenes and associates of the iniquity, from which he has been taken. I know not, indeed, how public attention is to be aroused to a sense of the magnitude and enormity of the evils of our two county prisons. There is a strange indifference, a most lamentable apathy among us, in regard to

these institutions, the influences of which are almost exclusively of the worst character. They are almost as certainly fatal to every remaining principle of virtue in the young who are sent to them, as would be a pest house to him who is predisposed to small pox or to plague. But I will not here dwell upon them; especially as but a brief space remains which I can occupy in this Report.*

I have spoken of the ages, within which I think members should be admitted into the School. In regard to character, I would say, that it should be a school, not for those only who have fallen into crime; but for those also, of whom there is a moral certainty, that if left to themselves they will soon become criminals. I would not indeed propose any encroachment upon the rights of parents, or upon the proper liberty of children. But applications have been made to me by parents, to obtain a place for their children in this School, because these children were wholly beyond their control and

* I have wished to ascertain the number of lads who have been sent to our House of Correction. But the ages of those committed to this prison are not recorded in the books of the institution. By a reference, however, to the names of those who have been committed since the 2d of December, 1823, — the date at which one of the turnkeys began his service there, — it is recollected by this turnkey, that *eightysix, between the ages of* 10 *and* 17 *years*, have been sent to this prison. This number, considerable as it is, is yet, without doubt, short of the number of the lads, who within this term have been sent there. We may, I think, safely suppose this number to be a hundred. I know not how this fact may be viewed by others. But to my mind it is an evil which cries to heaven for a remedy. — Of the eightysix who are distinctly remembered, three have been committed 6 times; one 5 times; three 4 times; five 3 times; and five twice.

were in the way to destruction, while yet they had committed no offence cognisable by the laws. To such parents I would give the privilege of committing their children to the charge of this institution. But in cases of this kind, as well as in many others, I would save parents and friends from the painful necessity of a prosecution of children in the Police Court. Let it be that there are cases, in which a trial in open court is rightfully to be required and insisted upon. All I contend for is, that there are others, in which it is neither necessary nor expedient; and that it is expedient, and will save from much suffering and will conduce to no evil, if a more private trial may be had, with the decisions of which all the parties concerned may be entirely satisfied.

As the law now is, no one can be sent to the School of Reformation, but through the Police, or the Municipal Court. And if, indeed, they must pass through one of our existing courts, I have no objection to the law as it now stands. No one has a higher respect for the Judges of these courts, than I have. They are worthy of entire respect and confidence. But why may not the Legislature give to the Directors of this School a judicial power, for the specific purpose of sending or of committing children to the School; with the right reserved to parents, guardians and friends, of appeal to either of our higher courts? There would be here no more abridgment of personal liberty, than there is in the constitution of our Police Court. And why make it indispensable to arraign children before a court, where they are exposed to the gaze of a crowd, no eye of which should see them? Why oblige parents, and even mothers, to the distressing necessity of appearing,

as they now sometimes must, in this court, amidst the assemblage which is there gathered, as the accusers on oath of their children? I have seldom witnessed a keener anguish of soul, than I have seen in a mother while laboring to bring herself to the resolution required for this duty; and even when she had brought herself to the energy demanded for the discharge of it. And not only will the feelings of parents and friends be respected and saved from the most painful laceration, by this change in the mode of committing children to the School; and not only, when this change shall be understood, will even parents be comparatively happy and grateful, that they may appear before one or more members of this Board to state their grievances respecting their obdurate and ungovernable children; but the children themselves will be made to feel, that, while they are sent to this School by a Board, which has all the authority which law can give to it, they are yet by the very manner of their commitment treated as offending children, — and not as if they belonged to the class, and were sharers of the guilt, of veteran and confirmed transgressors. It is worthy of consideration too, that by this provision the characters and moral necessities of the children received into the School will at once be known, as they now cannot be, to the Superintendent and Directors of it; a very important circumstance in view of the disposition to be made of them, in placing them out as apprentices. I earnestly ask for a serious consideration of this subject. It will, I think, at once approve itself to the minds of many. And I can hardly believe that any one, who may at first view it with some scepticism, will after a little sober thought respecting it withhold from it his hearty approbation.

To conceive adequately and justly of the subject of which I have spoken, it must be understood, that, however various are the circumstances under which individuals are brought to pauperism and crime, and however numerous the examples which may be adduced of those, who under the best means of general education and the best religious and moral influences have sunk into want, debasement and wretchedness; it is still true, that all these are exceptions, which confirm rather than disprove the principle, that the great security of the well-being of each one, and of the virtue, order and happiness of society, is in the widest possible extension of an early culture of the intellectual and moral nature. It lies in provisions for that elementary education, which will qualify each one intelligently to discharge the duties of the station in which he is to be placed; and, in the maintenance of that early watchfulness, encouragement and discipline of the young, on the part both of parents and friends, by which an early regard to God and to Jesus Christ, and an early sense of truth and duty and accountableness, are to be awakened, and kept in exercise, in the soul. Let us then most sedulously watch over the interests of our common and our Sunday schools; and do what we may to maintain and to extend a wise, a kindly and a christian discipline in our own, and in the families of those to whom we may extend the offices of christian friendship.

No fair mind will dispute the principle, that, however knowledge may be perverted and religious and moral influences resisted and the privileges and opportunities of virtuous advancement abused, these are yet the only means on which we may rely for the stability of the institutions, on which rest public prosperity and all

which makes social life a blessing. No man ever felt this principle more strongly than the fathers of New England; nor is there anything in the inheritance we have received from them, which is more to be prized, than the sentiment which prevails in this section of our country, respecting the duty of providing for the faithful instruction of the young. The noblest, the most deeply founded, and that which will be the most enduring monument of their wisdom, their foresight and their claims to perpetual veneration and gratitude, is the institution of the free schools, by which the means of an education adequate to the ordinary exigencies of life are extended to every family, however poor, in the city and the commonwealth. They were *men*, and had their weaknesses and errors. But whatever were their errors, in this, at least, all will acknowledge that they were *right*. And, whatever were their weaknesses, here they displayed a greatness of moral strength above almost all of their age. Who that knows his obligations to them, has not blessed God in a remembrance of these excellent men, when passing through our villages and towns he has seen everywhere, at short distances between, the school-houses, where the children of the affluent, of the middling classes, and of the poorest are either sitting together at their tasks on the same forms and under the same instructers; or, without distinction of outward condition, are mingling together their affections and interests in the same sports and gambols, around the place to which they go to be taught; and which will only be remembered by them to the last hour of life with a feebler feeling of delight, than the very home of their childhood?

Would that the inestimable worth of these nurseries of

knowledge and virtue were felt, as it should be, by every parent in our state!* When looking at the institutions in our city, on which does the mind rest its strongest confidence, that the blessings by which we are distinguished will be transmitted to our descendants? Where is our strongest bulwark against ignorance, infidelity, recklessness and crime? Where does the parent, solicitous for his young children, look beyond home and beyond his church for the influences, by which they are to be

* The tenants of Alms-houses and of Prisons are not of those only who have been reared in the city. There are uneducated and undisciplined children in our country towns, whose condition calls loudly for the sympathy of those, whose proper business and duty it is to have a moral care for them. In a recent ride, in which I passed through some of the most flourishing villages of our commonwealth, I witnessed the painful spectacle of ten or a dozen children, from ten to fourteen years of age, gathered in groups on the green before a tavern, for the same petty gambling which is seen among children of the same class in the by-places of the capital. And who can doubt whether these children are rearing for poverty and crime? I know not, indeed, which is most painful, the spectacle of children so employed; or, of the parents, and of the religious and civil guides in whose very neighborhood these children live, either passing them daily without even a consciousness of their employment and their danger, or looking upon them without one feeling of obligation to attempt their moral recovery. Even a single individual in either of these villages, at a comparatively very small expense of time and labor, might secure a competent education for almost every child in the village in which he lives; and without any force or unkindness, break up and prevent all associations for vicious purposes among the young. All, indeed, are not qualified for this, or for any office. But there are those in every village, who by assuming this agency may make themselves its best benefactors; and scarcely less the benefactors of their country. Few of my Reports, I believe, find their way into the country. But I shall have done no little good, if I can call the attention even of one true philanthropist there to this interesting subject.

trained for usefulness, respectability, and happiness? There is one answer to all these inquiries. Our eighty free schools, supported by a tax most willingly paid of $65,000, with their doors open alike to the poorest as to the richest, are, even more than our hundred and fifty private schools, the treasure and delight of every Christian patriot among us, whether he have or have not children to send to them.* It should be known, however, and pondered, that there are many children, even in our city, who should be in these schools but who are not in them. These, as well as the older children to whom I have referred, are at an age, at which they may be reclaimed and saved. Where, then, rests responsibility concerning them? Let me speak plainly on this subject. It rests, in part upon the city government; and, in part upon all of us in the more prospered conditions of society, who could, if we would, do much for the salvation of these children. And is not their salvation a far higher, as well as a less costly object, than are most of the interests which engage public attention? Is not their advancing moral ruin one of the greatest of the calamities to be apprehended by us? If these children are finally to be the victims of their vices, the tenants of our prisons, or are in any way to drag out a degraded and miserable existence, awful, as it seems to me, is the account which must be rendered of this evil, by those who are in full possession of the means by which it might be prevented.

* In the report made in 1829, in compliance with an act of the Legislature requiring a triennial return of the several schools in the commonwealth, we are told that our 80 free schools then contained 7,430 pupils; and our 155 private schools, 4,018. In these 235 schools, there were therefore 11,488 pupils.

In bringing before you the classes of children described in this Report and the means of their moral recovery, it may have seemed that I have laid an undue stress upon the influence of general and public education, while I have but glanced at the most important means, as well of remedying, as of preventing evil; that is, the faithful maintenance of domestic discipline and of domestic instruction. No one, however, more readily than I, will accede to the doctrine, of the paramount claims and importance of domestic education. But I could not have despatched this topic in a few words, and therefore would not introduce it in a connexion, in which I could not have done justice to it. Yet I may say, let the measures be taken, which I have recommended for the salvation of the children of whom I have spoken, and not a little will thus be done to aid the cause of family government; to give a new impulse to parents in the moral charge of their children; and to children, an increased sense of the duty they owe to their parents, and of the connexion at once between virtue and happiness and between vice and misery. Much also may and will be done by a faithful ministry for the poor, in aid of this great means of individual and of social good. — But I must desist. Glad and grateful shall I be, if I may be an instrument even of the smallest advancement of any one of the means, whether preventive or remedial, of saving and blessing even one of those, who but for the intervention of christian sympathy would have been unheeded; and but for a christian watchfulness excited by that sympathy would have been *lost*.

I have preached but seldom during the last six months. The services of the chapel within this time have been performed by a few of my friends, to whom I wish that I could make any better return than an assurance of my hearty gratitude. Whether these services can be continued as they have been, I know not. I am compelled, however, to say, that I cannot preach. If any gentleman can be found, who is disposed to cooperate with me in my work and whom you shall approve, the charge of the chapel might devolve on him; and to do what I can to obtain the services of such an one, I beg leave to say, that whenever you may be pleased to make the appointment, I will relinquish to my colleague any part or the whole of the salary which I receive from you; and will fail in no endeavor to aid him in the most efficient discharge of his duties. — From the date of my last Report I had no check in my service, till the close of February; when I was suddenly taken off from it by an illness, which confined me for five weeks. I have however, as I think, passed a very useful winter. The weather during a part of the time was very severe; and large numbers of the poor were wholly unable to obtain the employment, by which to provide for their families. But I am not aware that there has been any extraordinary suffering among us. There was a large demand for private benevolence, and it was largely answered. The benefactors of my poor's purse, old and young, known and unknown, may be assured that I have the strongest sense of their kindness; and that a very great extent of want has been relieved by it.

Very respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, May 5th, 1831.

NOTICE.

Mr Tuckerman began his ministry for the poor in Boston on the 5th of November, 1826. Four quarterly reports were printed in the first year of his ministry, and six semiannual reports have since been published. The general topics of the preceding semiannual reports have been, — 'The importance of a permanent ministry for the poor of cities; and of the employment of a sufficient number in this ministry, to secure a moral charge of the families, which cannot be brought under the pastoral care of the ministers of the churches of any city.' — 'The qualifications to be required in ministers for the poor.' — 'The claims and benefits of this ministry; and, the wages given to the poor.' — 'The causes of the number of the poor in Boston, and the means which will be most effectual for relieving their wants.' — 'The classes and conditions of the poor; the kinds and degrees of poverty.' — And, 'The tendency of cities to an accumulation of poverty and vice; and the importance of an enlightened public sentiment on this subject, as the best means by which to remedy, and to prevent, the growth of these evils.' The subject of poverty, in these reports, has been treated with a particular reference to Boston. But it is believed, that a more than usual interest is now felt in many parts of our country upon all the questions which relate to poverty and crime; and, under this conviction, it is thought that Mr Tuckerman's reports may be acceptable beyond the limits of our city. The Executive Committee of the American Unitarian Association have therefore determined, in future to publish these reports as parts of their first series of tracts. Though the objects of Mr Tuckerman's ministry are of a local character, yet as this ministry is under the patronage of the Association, it is thought that it will not be improper to avail ourselves of this means of calling forth a more extended and active sympathy, in the cause of improving the character and condition of the less prospered classes of our fellow beings.

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1st Series. No. 54.

MR TUCKERMAN'S

EIGHTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT

OF HIS SERVICE AS A

MINISTER AT LARGE IN BOSTON.

PRINTED FOR THE

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BOSTON,

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REPORT.

To the Executive Committee of the

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN, — In my last Report, I spoke of the intellectually and morally neglected children in our city. I classed these children; and suggested the measures by which, as I believe, nearly the whole of them may be rescued from impending ruin. This topic is so very important, that I hope you will patiently bear with me while I again call your attention to it.

My wish is, in this Report, to attempt to show, that the most active and extensively influential of the causes to which abject poverty and crime are to be ascribed, lie not only near, and under the very eye of every individual, but that they are, above all others, within the influence of the means which God has given us, of securing the order, and of advancing the improvement and happiness of society. The causes to which I refer consist of those circumstances, the direct tendency of which is to vitiate and to corrupt the young. I know full well that there are instances of crime, and of poverty growing out of crime, the particular causes of which were not

developed during the season of youth. But I am quite satisfied that far the greatest part of the abject poverty, and of the recklessness in crime, which people either our prisons or alms-houses, or which is seen in our streets, or which gives insecurity to property and happiness in society, may be followed back to causes, which showed themselves most distinctly within the first fifteen or twenty years of life, and generally at a much earlier season; to causes which, at that period, are within our power, as those which lie beyond these limits are not. It is true, and ought to be known, and to be reiterated till it shall be felt, that if we were faithful to the means we have of healing the waters of society *here*, the amount of abject want, and of unprincipled and hopeless obduracy which would remain, would be so small, that we might dispense with more than half of our prisons and alms-houses, and yet find ample accommodations in those we should still have, for all the paupers and criminals for whom it would be necessary to make these provisions. The inquiry, then, is of paramount interest, what are those circumstances, the tendency of which upon the young who are brought under their influences, almost necessarily is their immediate moral corruption, and their subsequent poverty and crime? In answering this inquiry, I must go into some minuteness of detail.

I reply, the *first* is, the want of an education, both intellectual and moral, which would dispose and qualify them for apprenticeship at some useful employment. The *second* is, the want of regular and useful employment, from the age of fourteen, or fifteen, to that of twentyone years. This is an evil, which extends to

many who have received all the advantages for instruction which our schools could give them. And the *third* division of these circumstances consists of the temptations and facilities to intemperance, to dishonesty, and to corrupting passions and pleasures, which are directly offered to the young, or which are most reprehensibly left in their way, by those who have the charge of them. The exposures are peculiar, in these respects, of the children under fourteen years old, who are not in school; and of those from fourteen, or fifteen, to twentyone years of age, who have no regular and useful employment. But through the negligence or the evil example of employers or masters, they are many, and great too, even with respect to some who are apprenticed to useful occupations. Vague assertions on these subjects are of little use. We must appeal to facts.

I. Let me say a few words of those who are not receiving the education, which is necessary to qualify them for apprenticeship at some useful employment.

We have so long been accustomed to think and to speak with exultation of our school system, that many are brought to believe it is quite perfect. And not only so. There are not a few who reason from ourselves, in this respect, to our whole country, and can hardly believe that there is an American citizen who cannot read or write. But in all this there is a very great mistake. Disguise it as we may, there are many native Americans who are as ignorant of letters even as the untaught of the older countries of the world. And if it were not so, — if every adult American could read and write, and if we could prove all the utterly illiterate

among us to be foreigners, or the children of foreigners, what consolation would there be in the thought, when threatened with, or suffering under any public calamity, which has been brought upon us by an ignorant population, that this part of our population consists only of foreigners, or of the descendants of foreigners ? Is not our country equally the home of many ten thousand foreigners, as of those who were born here ? I have not been able to obtain information of the number of children in our State, who are growing up without receiving any of the advantages of our schools. The last published 'Abstract of School Returns,' prepared by order of the Senate of the Commonwealth, is that of 1829. But by the kindness of the Secretary of State, I have been permitted to examine the unpublished 'Abstract of 1830.' In the Abstract of 1829, it appears that returns were made only from 131 towns; and in 1830, only from 97 towns. In the former year, 173 towns failed to make the returns required of them; and in the latter year, no returns were received from 207 towns. Nor is this the only defect in these important documents. From the 131 towns which made returns in 1829, and which include Boston, Salem, Marblehead, Danvers, Newburyport, Gloucester, Concord, and other large towns, only fifty eight of those between fourteen and twenty one years of age, are reported to have been unable to read and write; and in the towns above named, except Boston, not one ! Nor, with the exception of Boston, does it appear from the Abstract of 1830, that any town in the State contains an individual, between the ages of fourteen and twenty one years, who has not received a good common-school education. Of Boston, it is said

in the Abstract of 1829, 'few, if any native citizens, between fourteen and twentyone, are unable to read and write. How many foreigners is unknown.' And in the Abstract of 1830, 'the number between fourteen and twentyone, who are unable to read and write, is small, and principally foreigners.' But, including truants, who, if neglected, will soon be as illiterate as the most untaught, the number of children in our city, between five and fourteen years of age, who go to no school, is little short of four hundred. Nor do I doubt that there is an equal, or even a greater number, in the other towns in our State, who are growing up in equal ignorance. I hope, therefore, that our Legislature will neither be satisfied with such returns as have hitherto been received from towns respecting their schools, and the children who should be in them, nor lightly pass over the neglect of towns to make the returns required of them. It is true that a large number, but it is far from being true that the whole, of the uneducated among us, are foreigners. These foreigners, however, will live and die among us; and will act their parts, for weal or wo, in our communities. Let us then look at a few statements, which I believe may be relied upon, of the numbers, not far from us, who have grown, or are growing up, as ignorant of letters, even as are multitudes of the paupers of whom we hear and read, in other sections of the world.

First. In a memorial of the Pennsylvania Society for the promotion of public schools, presented to the Legislature of that State in 1830, it is said, 'there are at least 400,000 in Pennsylvania, between the ages of five and fourteen years; and of these, that not 150,000

were in all the schools of the State."* This fact, I am aware, will hardly be thought to be credible. But it has been reported to the Legislature, with at least an apparent belief of its truth, by the Governor of Pennsylvania.† The number of uneducated children in the city of Philadelphia, it is well known, is very great. But I am not willing to publish conjectures on this subject, and I have not been able to obtain any satisfactory information respecting it.

Again. At a public meeting of the friends of education in New Jersey, in 1828, a Committee was appointed to procure and publish information, in regard to the condition of the schools in that State. And from the Report of that Committee it appears, that 11,742 children were entirely destitute of school instruction; and that 15,000 adults were unable to read. In one county there were 1200 children who were not in any school; and in two other counties, forty districts were destitute of schools.‡

Once more. Returns are made to the Superintendent of common schools in New York, from the towns in that State; and the Superintendent makes an annual Report of these schools to the Legislature. The State is divided into 9062 school districts, of which 8630 have complied with the conditions of the statutes, by having schools kept by an inspected teacher, and by making returns to the commissioners of common-schools. In

* American Annals of Education, V. 1, 360.

† Gov. Wolf's Message to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, Dec. 8, 1830.

‡ American Annals of Education, V. 1, p. 362, 363.

these schools, 499,424 children have been taught during the year preceding the first of January, 1830; and the average time of instruction has been about eight months.' I believe, indeed, that in respect to its schools, the State of New York is in advance not only of Massachusetts, but of any State in the Union. The city of New York, however, is in this respect very far behind the rest of the State. We have the authority of the Superintendent of the common schools in the State, for the assertion that 'it is admitted there are 10,000 children in that city, who do not attend any school.'*

Is it asked, what are the inferences I could make from these statements? I answer, simply, that as far as the knowledge and the habits which are acquired at school, are salutary in their influences in the formation of character, and as far as a want of this knowledge and of these habits, tends to pauperism and crime, so far we are instructed by these facts respecting one of the means of preventing these great and terrible evils.

I would neither make any overcharged statements, nor press any facts to the support of a theory beyond their obvious and unquestionable bearing. If, therefore, there be any error in the above stated numbers, I shall very gladly see it corrected. And, should any one say that the number is great of those who can neither read nor write, and who yet have not fallen in-

* Report of the Superintendent of Common Schools in the State of New York, 1831. pp. 4. 16. 25. In Scotland, the proportion of the educated is one to every ten of the inhabitants. In England, one to every fifteen and three-tenths. In France, one to every seventeen and six-tenths. In Ireland, one to every eighteen. In Portugal, one to every eightyeight. In Russia, one to every three hundred and sixtyseven. American Annals of Education, V. 1, p. 115.

to crime; and that it is great also of those, who, with the best education, have become paupers and criminals; I admit the facts. But they form exceptions, and not a rule. There is a very great difference in the natural dispositions and propensities of the young; and, therefore, in their liableness, if I may so express myself, to moral infection. Some are uncontaminated, even after having lived long in the worst possible moral atmosphere; and some have even been made more resolutely virtuous by the daily spectacle of vicious example. Some, also, while surrounded by none but good influences, are hardly to be restrained from evil; and some, possessing the finest intellectual powers ever given to man, and reared with every possible outward advantage for their happy development, have debased those powers to the service of the lowest and most guilty passions of our nature; and have exhibited the spectacle of a ruin, as much more painfully affecting than that of the most time hallowed and once most magnificent temple, of mere dead matter, as the immortal spirit, destined for endless progress in knowledge and happiness, is a greater work than a temple made by the hands of man. But these also are exceptions, and do not form a rule.

In looking at the questions, how far is a school education a security from pauperism and crime? and, how far is a neglect of this education a cause of pauperism and crime? I would observe, first, that while this neglect is a very important circumstance in the production of these evils, and a circumstance which must not be lost sight of, it yet never acts alone in regard to them. The child under fourteen years old, who goes to no school, is not probably in any useful employment; and he is,

probably, with associates as idle as himself. If his parents are very poor, he will probably be sent out as a beggar; and every child who is a beggar, almost without exception, will become a vagrant, and probably a thief. Young as he is, he wants social excitement, and he must have it; and if that be not given to him by which he may be profited, he will probably seek and enjoy that by which he will be injured. The causes which lead to the neglect of his intellectual, in almost all cases, will lead also to the neglect of his moral education. It is indeed very seldom found, in regard to parents or the guardians of children, that they disregard the intellectual faculties of the young who are in their charge, while the moral nature is an object of any strong solicitude. Nor is this all. The children who are left by their parents to grow up in ignorance, are often made to minister to the idleness and intemperance of these parents; and they learn by the same means to procure their own vicious gratifications. These poor children, also, are seldom taken to any church; and Sunday, to many of them, is the most corrupting day of the week. On the other hand, the children who are *in* school, are generally attaining there some moral, as well as intellectual good. They are also far better taught at home, than are those who are not in any school. They generally go to church with their parents; and probably, likewise, receive the instructions of a Sunday school. They associate, too, with lads of their own age, who are of a far higher order of character than the ignorant and the idle. And as long as they are at school, they have in view, as the others have not, an apprenticeship at some useful occupation, by which they

may honorably provide for their own wants, and perhaps be the support of the age of their parents. Bring together these considerations, and they give no small importance to a school education, as a means of saving from pauperism and crime.

And in reply to those, who would leave a certain number uneducated, that they may thus be fitted and disposed for the lowest offices of life, I could observe, secondly, that if every child in our country, and in the world, between the ages of four and fourteen, were in a school; and if every child living, and to be born, should be kept from four to fourteen years of age, in as good schools as could be established, and should receive as much instruction as could be given to them, it would be found, that in the diversity God has made of human capacities, and in the wonderfully diversified dispositions of human nature, there is an ample provision for the whole number which is wanted for every service, however laborious, or even however revolting to others it might be, which is required for the comfort, or the order, or the ornament of social life. Educate the young as extensively and as perfectly as you can, and you can no more produce an equality of intellectual power, or of a spirit of enterprise which tends to an equality of wealth, than you can, by education, produce a condition of the human system, in which it shall not need food for its support. Here, then, I rest the claims of a school education, and the question of its influence in preventing poverty and crime.

I. The second of these circumstances is, the want of regular and useful employment from the age of four-

teen or fifteen, to that of twentyone years. This, I have said, is an evil which extends to many, who have received all the advantages for instruction which our schools could give them.

In the first place, however, let us look at the children who have not been in any school, and at the truants from our schools who have been struck from the list of the masters. They have now passed the age of fourteen years; and they are not only disqualified for the employments, in which a knowledge of reading, writing, and the first rules of arithmetic is required, but they are even more indisposed to any employment, which will abridge their liberty, or restrain them from their accustomed pursuits and indulgences. They wish still to live, as they have hitherto lived. They revolt from the thought of the authority of a master. And they are as closely bound to each other by a union of tastes, and objects, and gratifications, and habits, as they are widely separated in these respects from the most virtuous of their age. Some of them are the children of parents who have no sensibility to the evil of their condition; who have themselves hardly known a better condition; and whose example alone might have corrupted children, who were even strongly inclined to obedience and virtue. Others are the children of better, but of inefficient parents; of parents who do not, and think they cannot, control the waywardness which refuses submission to rule. And others, having lost their parents, have either fallen into the charge of those who have cared little for them, or have been left wholly to their own guidance. I suppose that we have as small a number of children of this class among us, as are to

be found in any city of the world with an equal population. But we have a sufficient number to produce a considerable amount of abject pauperism and crime. And, I ask, can it be otherwise, than that a large proportion of the children who are brought up to twenty-one years of age, ignorant, or almost wholly ignorant, of letters; free from all moral influence at home, or habitually and successfully resisting all moral influence there; who are daily associating for idle or vicious communion with each other; for the attainment of some vicious pleasure, or the accomplishment of some vicious purpose; who shrink from any labor, beyond that which is demanded to obtain the means for some personal and perhaps vicious end; who have learned, within the first twelve years of life, to love ardent spirits, though, perhaps, before that time they may not have been *accustomed* to drink them; who, even before that age, have acquired some skill in petty thieving, and are proficients in profaneness and deception; is it in the nature of things that children, thus living, or at least that far the greater number of them, should not, when they are men, become paupers, and criminals? I have not mentioned the female children of this class. But their exposures to moral ruin are scarcely less than those of boys. Let the number, then, of these children in our cities, in our large towns, and our villages, be correctly ascertained, and something will be done in the work of accounting for the extent of pauperism and crime. And let an inquisition be made of the numbers who have passed from this class of children to our prisons and almshouses, and the necessity will be wholly superseded of a long argument, either respecting the exposures of these children, or the true interest

of the intelligent and virtuous of society concerning them.

But these are not the only children who are exposed to depravity, even in its worst forms, from a want of regular employment. There are those in this number, who have continued in our schools through the term in which they were allowed to be in them; and others, who were taken from school at the age of eleven, twelve, or thirteen years, that they might earn a dollar a week for their parents, as errand boys in shops and offices. The last named of these children are generally sons of widows, who find in this service the means of paying their rent. Is it thought that this is at once a useful and an honorable employment of these boys? It is so, indeed, where their employers feel a parental interest in them, and provide for a continuance of the instruction from which they have been taken on leaving school, and exercise a moral superintendence over them, and endeavor to train them to preparation for an apprenticeship. But such parental watchfulness and care is not often exercised over them. It is too generally the case, that little progress in useful knowledge is made by these lads, after their entrance upon this course of life; and that associations are formed by them, and propensities and dispositions are indulged, which, instead of inclining and qualifying them for the steady and orderly labors of an apprenticeship, have the most direct tendency to fit them to fall into the class of idlers and vagrants. They are taken for these employments, with the intention, on the part of their parents, of apprenticing them when their term of service as errand boys shall have expired. But it is felt by these parents, that it is no small sacrifice to which they are called, when they

must relinquish the dollar a week which they have thus been accustomed to receive. A strong solicitude is therefore felt by them, if it be possible, still to obtain wages for the services of these children. It is often found difficult also by these mothers, and perhaps impracticable, at once, or even for a long time, to apprentice these children at any regular employment. They feel compelled, therefore, at once, to bear what they think they must bear from their idleness; to avail themselves of occasional opportunities to earn a little by their services when they can; and to live upon the hope, but seldom realized, of better things to come. These, and other children of poor widows; and children also who have both a father and a mother, but whose parents, either from negligence, or any other cause, fail to put them in the way of regular and useful occupation, soon pass the age at which they can be received as apprentices. They are then thrown entirely upon their own dispositions and resources; and too often acknowledge no restraining power, but that which they shall actually find themselves unable to resist, the authority of a civil officer. From the very circumstance of their manner of living, without rule, under no authority which they respect, with no important and useful end in view, and with little or no sense of accountableness, their reason and judgment become as weak and perverted, as their appetites and passions are prematurely strong and importunate. What, then, is to be looked for from children, who shall thus pass the time from eleven, or twelve, or fourteen, to twentyone years of age? What will probably, and what will almost necessarily be their habits, and characters? Will they now betake themselves to the labors of agriculture, or of the

work-shop? Some of them will be seamen. But they will generally continue to be, in character, what they were when they embarked in this service. Some, from a better natural disposition than the rest, which it may be has saved them from much of the corruption to which they have been exposed, will fall into the class of laborers, and perhaps may earn the means of their subsistence. But many of them, also, and from the causes to which I have referred, will be paupers and criminals; and in these cases, the very education they have received in school may minister even to their capacity in crime. — Consider carefully, then, the classes of those who have no regular employment before the time of their majority; the circumstances under which they are living; and the tempers, desires and habits they are forming; and look at the numbers of these young persons who are convicted of crime, before the law recognises them as freemen; and here, I think, will be laid open a very fearful source of pauperism and crime. The evil, however, I repeat, is within our reach, and consequently within the sphere of our responsibleness.

The third division of these circumstances consists of the temptations and facilities to intemperance, to dishonesty, and to corrupting passions and pleasures, which are directly offered to the young, or which are most reprehensibly left in their way by those who have the charge of them. The exposures, I have said, are peculiar, in these respects, of the children under fourteen years who are not in school; and of those from fourteen to twentyone years of age, who have no regular and useful employment. But through the negligence or the evil example of employers or masters, they

many, and great too, even with respect to some who are apprenticed to useful occupations.

In the first place, then, allow me to remark, that while I would not ascribe the licentiousness, the dishonesty, or the crime of any character in society, to any single cause, — for the causes of these evils are many, and sometimes very complicated,— the fact of the very peculiar connexion between intemperance and abject pauperism and crime, which has been established beyond contradiction by the investigations which have been made of this subject within the last five years, demands the very serious attention not only of the statesman and the philanthropist, but of every parent, and of every individual who is interested in the well-being of the community in which he lives. Among the various methods taken by the Temperance Societies in our country, to affect the public mind in regard to the enormous evils which have grown out of the cheapness of ardent spirits, the various means adopted to make them as fascinating as possible, and the very reprehensible system of licensing their sale in the form of drams, to an extent to meet the demands of every one who is disposed or may be decoyed to purchase them, one has been, an extensive and careful examination of the records of prisons and almshouses, for the very purpose of learning what proportion of the inmates of those institutions have been brought to pauperism and crime by intemperance. These examinations have brought to light the facts, — before, indeed, supposed, but now proved, — first, that the instance can hardly be found of a convict, who, at the time of his conviction, was not intemperate; and, secondly, that three-fourths of the

inmates of almshouses were brought to the abjectness and degradation in which they are seen there, by intemperance. In view of these facts, then, I take the ground, that whatever goes to prove that intemperance is a cause, and a prevailing cause, of pauperism and crime, goes equally to prove, first, that every intemperate lad or young man, unless recovered from his intemperance, will probably fall into pauperism, or crime, or into both; and, secondly, that the temptations and the facilities to an early love and use of ardent spirits, are direct means, to the extent to which they operate, of producing paupers and criminals in the city, in the commonwealth, and in our country. The facts here assumed will not be doubted by any one who has attended to the evidence on which they rest. Nor will any one who admits the facts, reject the inferences I have made from them. The question, then, arises, how far may the intemperance, and consequently the pauperism and crime of manhood, and therefore the numbers in our prisons and almshouses, be fairly traced back to the temptations and facilities to intemperance which are placed in the way of children, and to the love and use of ardent spirits which are acquired by them, both in the city and in the country?

I begin with referring you to the exposures of children who are under fourteen or fifteen years of age. Let us first look at some of them in the poorer, and then at some in the more prospered classes.

The impression, I am aware, soon passes from the mind, of any description of scenes which we have ourselves never witnessed. And yet, till we can persuade others by personal observation to acquaint themselves

with the scenes of vice and misery which are around them, and from an actual knowledge of which they would learn their duties in regard to the vicious and miserable, as they cannot otherwise be learned, we must be content with bringing before them such poor descriptions as we may, of the evils which ought to excite a universal sympathy and concern; and which, if cared for as they should be, might to a great extent be remedied. How often have I wished that I could bring those, who have a strong general interest in the well-being of society, and whose opinions exert a most important influence where I have no power, into the families of poor and intemperate parents. There let them see in what wretched rooms these unhappy beings are sometimes lodged; rooms as cold as wide chinks and broken windows can make them; the poor, broken, and scanty furniture; and the bed, not unfrequently lying upon the floor, and without a bedstead; and, it may be, consisting only of straw or of shavings. There let them see to what deep degradation our nature may be brought, through abandonment to the sin in which these parents are living. Will it be said, that parents in this condition are beyond the reach even of hope? I think otherwise; for no one is to be considered, or treated, as beyond hope, while God shall spare him. But I am not now pleading for these parents. I would direct attention to *their children*. Here are boys and girls, with bodies which are seldom washed, and which are covered at best with filthy and tattered garments. These children probably go to no school; and they learn nothing but from the example of those with whom they associate. They are unaccustomed to any regularity in their meals, and they

look for their food perhaps almost as much from home, as at home. They are now, it may be, caressed with the extravagance of intoxicated affection, and now beaten with the extravagance of intoxicated anger. They are every day deceived by their parents, and they every day in turn deceive them. At one hour they are kept at work, to procure fuel, or perform some other service; and in the next are allowed to go where they will, and to do what they will. They every day hear profaneness, and see intemperance, and witness parental contests; and are daily the companions of those, who live amidst the same scenes, and are forming under the same influences. They are allowed, also, not only to drain the cup which an intemperate father or mother has not quite emptied, but their portion of it is sometimes given to them. If they are advised or encouraged by these guardians of their morals, it is to be more wary, more cunning, more artful. Not unfrequently, also, do these children fall into the service of the lowest of the profligate. They are ready for any guilty service within their power, by which they may earn anything; and they have not an association with wrong, but the fear of detection and of punishment. What, then, is to be expected from these children? Is it surprising, that very early they become greatly depraved? I have spoken, indeed, of the most degraded parents, and of the most exposed children. But there are more of these parents and children, even in our greatly favored city, than would be suspected by those who know those among whom they live only as they pass them in the street. And there are children of other poor parents, especially of poor widows, who, though

they have in this respect no evil example at home, are yet under but a feeble parental restraint; and are associates, and learners of the language, and sharers of the occupations and the pleasures of those, whose very homes are schools of the grossest depravity. I pray, then, that it may be known, and thought worthy of remembrance, that we have children of this class in our city, who, if neglected as they now are, as certainly as they live, will become paupers and criminals. And on whom will fall the heaviest responsibility for their guilt and misery, but on those to whom God has given all the means of saving them, and who fail to use these means for the purposes for which he gave them?

Again. There is a higher class of parents, who would shrink from a dependence upon charity, but who are hardly less negligent of the moral condition of their children. I refer to parents, some of whom are far from indifference respecting the education of their children for an apprenticeship, and for the means of self-support, as far as the education of the school is concerned. But, from ignorance, or inefficiency, or the want of a strong moral sensibility, or if they have religious and moral feeling, yet from a want of judgment, are unable to control, or at least do not control, their wayward children. These parents and children are without the circle of my own ministry. But very painful cases now and then occur, in which the effects are brought to light, and made known, of that evil communication which the children of whom I am now speaking have with those, who are lower in outward condition, and more depraved, than themselves. From the united tendencies of neglect, or of injudiciousness, or of inad-

equate authority at home, and of vicious excitement and example abroad, there are children of this class who become truants from school; who, as idlers and companions of the vicious, are led to acts of petty pilfering; who acquire a taste for the pleasures of the theatre; who practise with their companions such modes of gambling as they may; and who occasionally earn small sums for small services, which, like any money they may otherwise obtain, are expended for gratifications, each one of which advances them further in iniquity. The excitements and indulgences which they find at the theatre exert over them a very corrupting influence. I have no doubt, indeed, that a considerable number of the lads of whom I am speaking, are corrupted principally by their love of theatrical exhibitions. But when it is considered, that they are daily losing the little knowledge they had obtained at school; and are living almost without any law, but that of their appetites and passions; hearing and seeing every day, what, if possible, they should never hear or see; and almost without restraint, are encouraging and strengthening each other to that which they should never do; it will not seem strange if they should be alike disqualified for, and indisposed to, the restraints of a regular and useful occupation. Some of them may, and will be, rescued from the dangers which threaten them, by the persevering efforts of their immediate friends. And some will be recovered, because while equally exposed as others, they have a better moral temperament; or because, while at home, they have been under better antagonist influences. But not a few of them, if left unregarded, will be the victims of early bad

associations, propensities and habits, miserable themselves, and the bane of society. But is the evil, even with respect to them, irremediable? I think not. And if it be not, where lies the chief blame of their guilt and wretchedness, but with those to whom God has given the means of their salvation?

I have spoken of the moral exposures of those who are under fourteen years old. But still greater are the exposures, in these respects, of those between fourteen and twentyone years, who are living without any regular employment. These, almost without exception, fall into intemperance; and a large proportion of them are pilferers. I have distinctly spoken of these lads on a former occasion, and I therefore here make only a passing reference to them. Their claim, indeed, is loud, to more than a passing thought, or a momentary recollection of their condition. Would that it might excite the sympathy and interest which it justly demands from us!

There is, however, yet another class of those between fourteen or fifteen and twentyone years old, who are peculiarly exposed to pauperism and crime. I refer to those who have obtained employment for this critical season of life, but who, either through the negligence, or the evil example of their masters, are exposed to great and pressing temptations. Such is the condition of apprentices who know that their masters live in the daily practice of drinking ardent spirits. Who can doubt whether this knowledge will be held to be a sufficient sanction of the practice, where there is even but a slight inclination to indulge it? The custom, also, of the eleven and four o'clock dram in the work-

shop, and at labor abroad, has made drunkards of many lads, who would otherwise never have been disposed to drink ardent spirits. This custom is very far from being what it was. But there are those who still retain it; and a more effectual means could hardly be devised for the promotion of intemperance, and its concomitant sins. It is to this custom, more than to any other cause, that the intemperance of our country towns is to be ascribed. Boys, there, not only drink with those with whom they work in the fields, but they share the drink of those with whom they labor. And if this drink be rum, how can it be that they should not be lovers of rum? And there are those, too, in other, and as they think, in higher employments, to whom the screened Soda Shop is as fatal as the more undisguised tippling shop is to those who resort to it. To these allurements to iniquity, add the fascinations and the corruptions of the theatre, addressed as they are, to so great an extent, to the lowest passions of our nature; and, in these combined influences I think you will see very powerful excitements to dishonesty, intemperance, profligacy, and moral ruin. — I pray for a serious consideration of these circumstances of the moral exposure of the young. If pauperism and crime are to be effectually prevented or remedied, we must go to their sources. And if we have but a disposition, we have ample means beside, of checking and of overcoming these evils, to an extent to produce a change in society, which has never yet been wrought in it, and an enlargement of human happiness, which has never been experienced.

There is a spring of pauperism and crime, which presents itself in this connexion, at which I have not even glanced, only because I could not do any justice to my

views of it, in the cursory notice which is all that I could here take of it. I refer to the influence of the habits and the example of the more prospered classes, not only upon the young in those classes, but upon the dispositions and tastes and habits of the whole mass of society. This, I am aware, is a very delicate and difficult topic. It is, however, a plain matter of fact, that where, as with us, there is no law of entail, property seldom descends beyond the third generation of a family. And why? Obviously, in part, because the expectation of inheriting property indisposes and disqualifies the young for regular, self-denying, and persevering labor; and, in part, from the consequent vanity, extravagance, and sensual indulgence, for which an ample inheritance for all the purposes of virtue, usefulness, and happiness, is found to be utterly inadequate. Let any one look about him, and ask, who were the grandfathers and the fathers of our rich men? and who were the fathers and grand parents of our paupers and criminals? and he will find, that it is not poverty alone which produces poverty. And let any one consider, till he understands, the descending influence of example, and then look at the tendency of much of the example which is continually wending its way from the high grounds to the very lowest depths of social life, and he will need no labored argument to convince him, that the rich are in truth accountable for much of the abject poverty of the world; and that right sentiments, christian sentiments of property, and of human relations and duties, among the rich, are to be among the most effectual of the means of salvation from pauperism and crime. — I cannot here enlarge upon this topic.

But I hope to be able to speak more freely of it on a future occasion.

But before I speak of measures, either remedial or preventive, let me add a few facts, to corroborate some of the statements I have here made. My means of information are not as large as I could wish upon these subjects. But the facts I have to offer will throw some light on the topic of which I have spoken.

First, then, let me adduce the testimony of the Superintendent of the House of Refuge in New York.

From the first of January, to the thirtyfirst of December, 1830, the number of children received into that institution was one hundred and fortyfour. Of this number, seventyone could not read, and twenty of the seventyone did not know a letter. Thirtythree of the one hundred and fortyfour are all that know anything of arithmetic, and twentytwo of these thirtythree were in addition. The average age of these children was eleven years and six months; and of the one hundred and fortyfour, only sixty were of American parentage.

Of the children received into the Refuge since it was opened on the first of January, 1825, to the first of January, 1831, the whole number is eight hundred and thirtyfour. Of these children, fiftyseven had been in Bridewell once; twentysix had been there twice; three had been there four times; five, five times; and one ten times. Thirteen had been in the Penitentiary six months; three had been there twelve months; four eighteen months; one, thirty months; and two, thirtysix months. And four had been in the State Prison. The average age of the whole number was twelve years and two months.

Of the parents of these children, thirtyfive had been

in Bridewell ; sixteen in the Penitentiary, and two in the State Prison. Four hundred and fortysix were intemperate. Nine were keepers of houses of ill fame. Ten were allowed by their parents to steal. And the parents of eight received stolen goods from their children.*

Again. In a note in my last report, I stated that of ninetythree children then in our House of Reformation, twentyfive could not read when they were sent there, and fiftythree had been truants from our schools. I add only a short extract from a note which I have recently received from Mr Wells, the Superintendent and Chaplain of that institution. 'I cannot call to mind one boy I have had with me over fifteen years old, — and I have had thirty such, — who had not, to more or less excess, been accustomed to drink ardent spirits ; and fivesixths of these may fairly be considered to have been intemperate. Of those between twelve and fifteen years of age, I think that three-fourths would have allowed themselves in the same indulgence, whenever they had an opportunity to do it ; and that two-thirds of these were in the way to confirmed intemperance.'

Again. The House of Refuge in Philadelphia was opened for proper subjects of the Institution in May, 1828. The whole number who have been received into it, is two hundred and eightynine boys, and ninetythree girls. Total, three hundred and eightytwo. Of the two hundred and eightynine boys, I am told by the Superintendent, that one hundred and eightytwo could not read, and that only thirtyone knew anything of

* Sixth Annual Report of the Managers of the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents in the City and State of New York.

arithmetic. Their average age was near fifteen years. Seventy of these boys had previously been in prison. 'And,' adds the Superintendent in a letter I have received from him, 'I do not hesitate to say, that intemperance has supplied the Institution with two thirds of the above number, either by its influence directly upon themselves, or through their parents, or those who had the care of them.'

Again. Before the establishment of the House of Refuge in New York, more than five hundred young persons were annually committed in that State, either as criminals or vagrants; and we learn from the Superintendent of the Penitentiary at Bellevue, that of the children committed there, not more than one in eight could read and write at the time of committal. The commitments of this class of offenders have been fewer in our city. But I have seen boys under fifteen years old in our common jail, because, having been convicted of a petty offence, they could not pay the fine of a dollar and the costs of court; and within six years, about a hundred, including colored boys, have been sent to our House of Correction. Such, also, have been the recommitments of these lads, after having been once sent to that school of sin, that seventeen of them represent sixty commitments. These lads were sent there for various offences. But a considerable number of them were sent specifically for intemperance; and it is a matter of notoriety, that far the largest number of them, whatever were the offences of which they were convicted, were accustomed to drink ardent spirits whenever they could obtain them. I have known lads in that prison, who were decidedly drunkards before they were twelve years old; and who have again and

again been there for intemperance before they were fifteen years old. Now it is brought almost to an absolute certainty, that if these children could have been placed in our House of Reformation, nearly every one of them might have been recovered from intemperance and from disposition to crime. Placed, however, as they have been, it is about as certain that every one of them will be intemperate through life, and either paupers or criminals. The number here stated is indeed small. But is it too small to be worthy of very serious regard, even in view only of our own immediate interests? Will the depredations they will probably make upon the property of others be small? Will the cost of supporting them in prisons and almshouses, at the expense of the honest industry of others, be small? But, above all, looking only to this number, and seeing them in the connexions in which our religion brings them before us, is our responsibility in regard to them small? I appeal alike to interest and to conscience, repeating only my own settled conviction, that if half the zeal were felt among us for the salvation of children of this class, which is felt for objects which have no comparative claim upon public interest, nearly the whole of them might be saved. A regard only to economy, however, will do little or nothing in this case. If higher principles cannot be awakened in the cause of these, and of other equally exposed children among us, they will continue to be, as they have been, *lost*.

Again. There is yet another class of facts which furnish an important argument for Houses of Refuge, or of Reformation. I refer to the facts which illustrate the tendency of short terms of imprisonment for the first offence. The keeper of the Glasgow Bridewell, which

is a penitentiary jail on the plan of strict solitary confinement, states, that he has 'observed that offenders committed for the first time for only a short period, almost invariably return to Bridewell for new offences. But if committed for a long period, they return less frequently. This fact is established by the following table, formed on an average of ten years, ending 25th of December, 1825:

Of prisoners sentenced to 14 days' confinement, there were returned for new crimes, about	75	per cent.
Of those sentenced to 30 days	60	" "
to 40 days	50	" "
to 60 days	40	" "
to 3 months	25	" "
to 6 months	10	" "
to 9 months	7½	" "
to 12 months	4	" "
to 18 months	1	" "
to 24 months	none.	

And during these ten years, ninetythree persons were committed for the first time for two years.' Now let it be considered, that if a lad shall be imprisoned for a first offence, it must almost necessarily be for a short time. His age will plead for him. And the character of his first offence will not, probably, justify a long imprisonment in a jail or a penitentiary. But this first imprisonment will probably be an extinguisher of every moral sentiment in his heart. On the other hand, if he shall be sent to an Institution for Juvenile Delinquents, it will not be for a specified time. Nor, in truth, will he feel that the stigma of a prison convict is impressed upon him. Children who might have been sent to prison for one or two or three months, for crime, are

sent to our House of Reformation for instruction and discipline, till it shall be thought proper by those who have there the charge of them, to place them out as apprentices. And even when apprenticed, they are still so far in the care of the Directors of the Institution, that these Directors hold the masters of these children to be responsible to them; and the children can and do look to these Directors, and to the Superintendent in whose immediate charge they have been placed, as their legal guardians. I would respectfully submit these facts, and the argument deduced from them, to the consideration of those, whose opinion and influence will be for moral deliverance or for moral destruction to many hundreds of the children of our city.

Again. Of three hundred men who have been in the Sunday School of the Auburn State Prison, eightyfive did not know the alphabet; and two hundred were able to read only in easy lessons for children, and by spelling some of the words.*

Again. I am told by the indefatigable Secretary of the Prison Discipline Society, on the authority of the chaplain of the prison in Wethersfield, Connecticut, that there are a few less than two hundred convicts in that prison; and that, of these, fortytwo per cent cannot write; sixteen per cent cannot read; thirtytwo per cent were deprived of parental protection before they were ten years old; and twenty per cent more met with a similar deprivation before they were fifteen years old.

Again. For the answers to the following questions, I am indebted to the kindness of the very respectable chaplain of the State Prison in Charlestown. It is

* Report of the Auburn Prison. In Senate, Jan. 24, 1831.

proper to remark, the number of convicts who were personally examined by Mr Curtis, with reference to these inquiries, is two hundred and fiftysix.

1st. How many of the convicts in the State Prison in Charlestown did not know the alphabet at the time of their commitment? Answer, 20.

2d. How many could read only in easy lessons for children? Answer, 21.

3d. How many could not write? Answer, 64.

4th. How many were accustomed to use ardent spirits before they were 16 years old? Answer, 127.

5th. How many of the convicts do you believe were men of intemperate habits? Answer. I am satisfied that at least three-fourths of the convicts in this, and other prisons with which I have been conversant, were men of intemperate habits.

6th. Of how many were one, or both parents, intemperate? Answer, 50.

7th. How many were guilty of petty thefts before the age of 16 years? Answer, 45.

8th. How many were brought up without any regular employment? Answer, 82.

9th. How many, before the age of 21, left their parents without their consent? Answer, 68.

10th. How many, before their conviction, lived in a general violation of the Lord's day? Answer, 182.

11th. How many are foreigners? Answer, 48.

In a note appended to the 9th question, respecting those who early left their home without the consent of their parents, Mr Curtis says, — 'On this subject I would remark, that, in addition to the number here stated, many lost one, or both of their parents, during their childhood or youth; and thus were thrown upon the

world without that guardian care, which is so important in the first stages of life. And many others, who left home with the consent of their parents to learn some trade or business, left their masters or employers before the expiration of the time for which they were apprenticed, and thus fell into the paths of the destroyers.'

The largest number of these facts has been obtained from the confessions of the prisoners. I leave them without comment, respectfully commending them to the consideration of those to whose judgment and influence, under Providence, we are to look for the character of our institutions, and the well-being of our society.

Is it asked, what are the remedies of these evils, and what the means for their prevention? I answer, that they are not far off; nor, if we were truly disposed to avail ourselves of them, difficult to be obtained. But little thought or care is yet given to these subjects, compared with the greatness of the interests which are comprehended in them. Public sentiment is yet vague respecting the causes of pauperism and crime; and new and more efficient measures should be taken, to bring these subjects, in all their relations and bearings, before the whole body of our citizens. I would say, therefore, in the first place, that if a few of our most intelligent and philanthropic men, men of leisure and influence, would unite for the study of these subjects; not merely, or principally, by consulting books, but by an extensive personal communication with the poor and with criminals; if these gentlemen would meet frequently, — for example, one evening in every week, — to bring together their facts, and to compare their opinions; if they ·ld occasionally publish these facts and opinions,

with the sanction of their names; and, when they shall see clearly what are the demands of justice, of humanity, and of religion, if they would combine their efforts, now for the suppression of one, and now of another, of the springs of evil, and now to obtain one, and now another establishment, for the salvation and greatest happiness of those, who must otherwise be irretrievably lost to all the higher purposes of their being; a great and glorious reform might soon be effected in our city. Am I told, that the plan of such an association is impracticable? I ask, why? And I appeal to the sober judgment of the intelligent, the affluent and influential. Is a greater service here demanded, than is due from those whom God has greatly blessed, to the poor, and degraded, and miserable around us? Is it more than God will require from those, to whom he has given the means of saving and blessing hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of their race? There is no service on earth from which a higher good will result to those who engage in it. A few judicious and energetic minds, combined and resolved to accomplish all which they may for the suppression of pauperism and crime, would accumulate for themselves in this work a better treasure than all their wealth, let them be as rich as they may; and in a few years might do more for the advancement of society, than, without these services, would probably be accomplished in half a century.

I would, however, and with all due deference, call attention to some of the measures, both remedial and preventive, which I think would engage the earliest interests of such an association as I have named.

First, then, let me say, there should be a Superintendent of the common schools in our Commonwealth.

This office is held by the Secretary of State in New York; and the good is incalculably great which has resulted to that State from the very able Reports which this officer, for the term of ten years, has laid before the New York Legislature. I have referred to the very defective returns which are made from the schools in our State; and such they will continue to be, till they shall be looked for from an executive officer of the government, whose duty it shall be to procure them. Beneficial results may be anticipated from the measures which are taking by the American Institute of Instruction, for the advancement of education over our whole country; and we hope that this new, and rising association will do much to excite and to aid the Legislatures of our States. Massachusetts needs this excitement and aid less than many other States in our Union. But a legal requisition, which could not be evaded, of faithful annual returns from all the common schools in our State, and of annual reports of the Superintendent of these schools, to be printed and given to every legislator, and made accessible to all who may wish for information upon the subject, would do much at once for the guidance of our legislators and for the improvement of these schools. If other demands of our State Legislature are answered or met as are those which are made respecting the schools in the Commonwealth, there must even be more darkness in the work of making, than there is in that of administering the laws.

Again. I have repeatedly referred to the children between the ages of seven and fourteen years, who are disqualified for and cannot be received into our grammar schools. For these children, schools should be provided either by the city or by private charity. I

have referred also to the truants, and the other classes of vagrant children; and to those without employment, who are not yet vagrants, but if left uncared for, will probably become paupers and criminals. Shall these children be abandoned to the ruin that is before them? Shall we continue to nourish, in the very bosom of our society, a class or classes of those, who, if unregarded by us in their moral condition, will be the bane of the generation that is to succeed us? Let the charge be committed to one or two officers, who shall be kind but energetic men, of sending to our House of Reformation all those children, for whose arrest as vagrants or criminals, the law has already made provision; and you will not only save those for whom this provision shall be made, but through the same instrumentality, you may restore to our schools all the truants who may safely be returned to them; and within a few years, hundreds of children, male and female, would be rescued from intemperance, dishonesty and dissoluteness. I have before spoken upon this subject, and will not therefore now dwell upon it.

Our Sunday schools are doing much, but they might do far more, for the salvation of large numbers from most imminent exposure to all that can vitiate and debase the mind and character. I would say to the Sunday school teacher, Covet above all things, in this service, the instruction and salvation of the poorest, the most neglected, abject and vicious children whom you can find; and make your weekly visits to the parents of the children whom you instruct, and be their christian friend. Then will you be an instrument for accomplishing the highest purposes of this most excellent institution. It is indeed delightful to teach good children, who have virtuous parents, and who are even disposed

to do more than their instructer would require of them. But happier is he, as well as a greater benefactor of his race, who shall aim at the higher object, with God's blessing, of softening the obdurate mind; of recovering to knowledge and virtue the little one who has gone astray, and who had no one to guide him; and of preparing one and another, who would otherwise have sunk into sin and misery, to find their existence a good to themselves and others, and to look with a christian hope to the eternal life that is before them.

I anticipate much good, also, from our recently formed City Temperance Society, and would earnestly recommend the formation of Temperance Societies in all our towns. That they may exert much influence, however, either as a remedy or a preventive of pauperism, the intelligent and influential must give them their countenance and support. If they who form and direct public sentiment will enlist in this cause, the result will be a gradual, but certain change of sentiment in the multitude. And even if no improvement shall be made in our license laws, or even if they should be wholly abolished, I believe there is wisdom and virtue enough among us, should they be combined for this end, in no long time to make our cities, and our whole country, as distinguished for sobriety, as they are, or even have been, for the blessings of liberty and of abundance.

Again. Our Savings Bank is a very valuable auxiliary, as a preventive both of pauperism and of crime. But this institution is doing little for the poor, compared with what it would do for them, if proper means were employed for the suppression of intemperance. There are hundreds of families, now dependent on charity, and receiving charity, and which would sometimes suffer as we have no right to leave human beings to suffer, but

through charity, which yet might not only be able to provide for their daily support, but to lay by the means of providing for their comfort in sickness and old age, if they were but temperate. If ardent spirits were used as they should be, only as a medicine, the deposits of the poor in the Savings Bank would be quadrupled, and the necessity superseded of more than half the city tax for the poor, and of more than half the contributions now required to the funds of benevolent societies.

Another means of great importance, at once for the remedy, and the prevention of these evils, is, *a ministry for the poor of cities, commensurate with the extent of that part of their poor population, which is not in regular connexion with the religious societies of cities.* There is a considerable degree of sensibility in our own city to the claims of this ministry. We have five ministers for the poor, and two for seamen. But this ministry is not yet estimated even among ourselves as it should be. It is not in any view second in its claims to the ministry established in our churches. It is neither less distinctly required by Christianity, nor by human wants. It is not in any degree less important in regard to the highest immediate interests of society, nor may less be hoped from it in respect to all which constitutes the most enduring good of man. Its maintenance, and the provision of fit instruments for it, ought indeed to engage the thought and care of our churches, and of all who feel an interest in the moral order of society, equally as the chosen ministry of these churches. How, indeed, are the lessons of christian piety and virtue, the consolations and supports, the restraints and encouragements of our religion, ever to be known to tens and to hundreds of thousands in the cities of Christendom, but through a ministry exclusively consecrated to the service of the

poor? How wonderful, — how passing strange is it, that such a ministry is not everywhere to be found in the cities of the christian world! How absurd is the assumption, in respect to cities, a third or a half of whose inhabitants are never brought within the pale of their establishments for social worship, — a third, or a half of whose inhabitants, are hardly recognised as beings of the same nature with their more prospered neighbors, simply because they are poor, and ignorant, and vicious; that is, simply because they are in the very condition from which Christ came to save them; — how absurd, I repeat, is the assumption, that these are *christian cities!* Are these poor, and ignorant, and vicious fellow beings, less dear to God, or less accessible to christian influences, than their more intelligent and prospered neighbors? Are their vices, on the whole, more injurious either to themselves or to society? And if Christianity is ever to be dispensed to them, how can it be, but through the interest which the intelligent, and the rich, and the virtuous shall feel in providing for them an intelligent, and a devoted ministry? A truly christian sensibility to this claim of our religion upon the more prospered classes; a sensibility to it, which will be satisfied only by obtaining a ministry for the poor, in character and extent such as Christianity requires; a feeling of its importance, which will secure fit instruments for it, because it will not cease to demand, till it obtains them; — this state of feeling in the intelligent, and affluent, and virtuous in cities, whenever it shall be stongly called forth, will make an era in the history of our religion. Would that God would raise up some one, who can reach the ears and hearts of men as I cannot! I am not more certain of anything, than I am that this ministry among ourselves is conducing

to great good. But what I pray for, is not a merely occasional, and temporary service in this office; not a service to be rendered either by the young, who are at school for another, and as they think, a higher ministry in the churches of the more prospered; or by the old and worn out, who have expended all their energies in other labors. There is wanted here the fulness of human strength, physical and moral; an intellect and a judgment, which will command respect from the minds with which they are brought into connexion; and a deliberate choice, which is not to be changed, of this service above all other services. These is here wanted, too, that uniformity and continuance of influence which can be obtained only from *the permanence of the minister in his office*. Such a ministry, if committed to proper instruments, will gradually throw more light on pauperism and crime, than may be looked for from all other sources. And it will do more, than can be done by almost any other means, to save vast masses of our fellow beings from want and wretchedness and ruin.

There is yet another means of arresting and of suppressing these great evils, which I name the last, because, while it is the first in importance, it seems to be the hardest to be brought to application. Allow me, in a few words, to explain myself upon this subject.

We live in a very benevolent community. But Christianity requires a far higher benevolence than that of giving money. Its aim is, to unite men as a family of brothers. Whatever may be our property, our intelligence, our office, or our titles, Christianity requires us to recognise the poor beggar and the convicted criminal, as the children of our Father, and possessors of a common nature with ourselves. They have fallen, — at least, tens of thousands of them fallen, — under

circumstances, in which if we had ourselves been, we might have sunk as low as they are. And from whence arose those circumstances? From the fault of the individuals suffering under them? Sometimes, without doubt. But I have referred to circumstances, and I might have referred to many more, which, though not within the control of the individuals who are brought by them to abjectness and crime, may be controlled and entirely changed by others; and which, brought under christian influences, would save thousands from degradation and wretchedness. This view of the condition of society, and of christian duties with respect to it, demands an attention which has never yet been given to it. Men have so long been told that poverty and crime are unfathomable gulfs; that their springs, or the causes producing them, are beyond human power; and that, to a great extent, they are alike necessary and irremediable evils; that, even by multitudes of the wise and good, nothing is deemed more chimerical, more a mere dream of enthusiasm, than a proposition to lay open the causes of these evils and the means by which far the largest amount of them may be remedied or prevented. And yet I am quite as sure that Christianity has given us these means, and that they are entirely sufficient for these ends, as I am of the existence of pauperism and crime. And I am quite as sure, too, that the errors of judgment, and the mistakes in conduct, into which not only legislators, but many others, have fallen on these subjects, are attributable wholly to the fact, that losing sight of christian sentiments of human relations, dependencies and obligations, they have looked alike for the causes and the cure of these evils, where neither was to be found. The poor and criminals have generally been regarded only in their civil re-

lations; as members of the body politic, who are to be affected only by political ordinances; and respecting whom the great question has been, how may they most effectually be coerced? or, what is the immediate cost which must be incurred for them? No error can be more vital than this. Sunk and degraded as we see them, even the lowest and the worst of these unhappy beings has a moral nature; and moral as well as physical powers and wants. Many, too, even of the lowest and the worst, by wise preventive measures, might have been saved from the degradation in which we see them. But you might as well attempt to raise them from their degradation by any other than moral means, as to meet the demands of their hunger by giving them air. Is it asked, what provisions are made by Christianity for the accomplishment of this great redemption? I answer, that they are to be found, not in the peculiar doctrines of any sect in Christendom; but, as I have already said, in a christian sense of human relations, — of the connexion into which Jesus Christ intended to bring man with man, — and of our responsibilities for all our means of usefulness. And is it asked, how is this mighty change to be wrought through means so simple? I answer, let all the intelligent, the affluent and influential among us, who call themselves Christians, bring home to their own souls what Christ has taught uponthe topics to which I have here referred, and there would not then be a single poor or vicious family or individual among us, which would not soon be brought within the sympathies of our religion. How many widows, now suffering under the most distressing embarrassments and perplexities, would then be comforted and encouraged, aided in the direction of their industry, and made comparatively happy? How many intemperate men and wo-

men, whose greatest excesses arise from the feeling that they are outcasts and uncared for, might be recovered to a sense of character and to virtue? How many children, both of virtuous and of vicious poor parents, under the restraints and encouragements of this new alliance, might be recalled from vagrancy and filial disobedience, placed and kept in our schools, in due time apprenticed at useful employments, and made respectable and happy members of society? How many filthy families might be made cleanly? How many families, now living in disorder and wretchedness, principally because they have no connexion with any one who is not as low as themselves, might thus be taught, and made to feel, the blessings of order, and foresight, and providence for the time to come, and mutual respect, and care for each other's happiness? How would the distresses of sickness among the poor be thus alleviated? From how many moral dangers, from which they know not how to escape, would they thus be rescued? And is there a man who has a disposition for this service, who might not find leisure for it? Or is there a man who has a christian feeling for his suffering brother, who would not soon acquire a tact, if tact be required, for this service? This feeling of relationship, and this connexion of the classes of society, is one of the most obvious of all the dictates of Christianity; and nothing short of Christianity will ever bring about any great and permanent melioration of the condition of the poor, or any great and permanent means for the prevention of pauperism and crime.

One word more respecting the most important of all the claims of charity, and I have done. One word more in regard to the young, who are peculiarly exposed to pauperism and crime. I have referred to these child-

ren in the city, and the country. And, let me appeal in their behalf to all in the city and the country who feel the ties of a common nature with those around them. I could call upon the prospered parents who are happy, and upon those who are unhappy, in their children. I would call upon the latter by their fears and by their sufferings, and upon the former by all which they enjoy in the immediate virtue and in the cheering hopes of their offspring, to look with sympathy and pity upon the exposed children of the poor; and now to select one, and now another, whom it shall be their aim and resolute endeavor, to bring to instruction and to virtue, and thus to save from crime and ruin. I would call upon those who have but just started in the career of manhood, — upon young men, who have but just begun to act for themselves, each to signalize the beginning of his course, — I mean not in the eye of the world, but of his own heart, and of his Maker, — by recovering, and preparing for a life of usefulness, some child who is wringing his, or her mother's heart with sorrow; or, some one who has not a parent to care for his or her condition, and who, without the interposition of a christian friend, will soon, perhaps, be beyond the reach of this best exercise of human benevolence. No young man, who shall thus have been the instrument of saving a single child, will, through his life, find his heart closed against the appeals of human suffering. — I would call upon benevolent wives and mothers, to take into their especial charge the exposed female children, who, if not soon brought under the influence of christian judgment and affection, will soon be carried to the utmost extreme of human guilt, and obduracy and debasement. — I would call, too, with all possible respect, upon our civil authorities, and upon the ministers of religion, both in the city and the country; and implore their care for those, who, them-

selves ignorant, inexperienced, reckless, are pursuing the way to their own destruction, either because they have no one to guide them in the way in which they should go, or because they will not submit to parental control. There are such children in the country, as well as in the city; and many such there will continue to be, till, by a wider sense of christian obligations in regard to them, and a consequent more active christian care of them, a wiser and better generation shall be produced than is now upon the stage. And how, indeed, is this better generation to be produced, but through this salvation of the young? And how is this salvation to be accomplished, but through the sympathies and the energies of christian benevolence in those who have but to resolve, with God's blessing, that it shall be attained, and it will be obtained? Here is a field for the labors of christian charity, where good to an incalculable extent may be done, at little or no expense, but of time and of affection; and where a good may be achieved, eternal at once to him or her who does it, and to him or her for whom it is done. In one word, I would say to all who wish to do good, whether they have much or little to give to those who are in want, — to all who would, if they could, be benefactors of their generation, — determine and strive, to save at least one truant, one vagrant, one vicious child, who, if no friendly, no christian hand be stretched out for his or her deliverance, will fall into the abyss either of pauperism or of crime. Place and keep one child in school, who would not otherwise be there. Be instead of a parent to one child, who would otherwise be without a protector. Be the coadjutor of at least one parent, who otherwise could not provide for the instruction of his or her children. Seek the satisfaction of seeing at least one child of the poor, who

might otherwise have travelled to death in the ways of sin, walking, through your guidance and care and encouragement, in the paths of virtue, usefulness, and happiness. I know of no good of earth and time which is greater than this. And could I obtain the ear of those who have fortune, and leisure, and all the means of being the greatest benefactors of their race, and who are yet doing little or nothing to improve the character and condition of those below them, I would say to them, you know not what means of personal good and happiness you are disregarding, while you neglect your opportunities to save one and another of those, who are perishing from the want of that very care and kindness, which you might so easily extend to them. A recurrence to your agency in this unostentatious work of christian benevolence, will bring more gladness to your heart in the prospect of death, than a remembrance of all your worldly success. And in the feeling that you have thus been instrumental to the salvation of one of these little ones, you will have a richer treasure when you shall stand before God, than if, having lived only for yourself, you had possessed the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them.

My visits, during the past year, have been divided between four hundred and eightyfive families. My connexion with a large number of these families has, however, been of short duration. I have been called to some of them for services which were soon rendered, and which did not require a continuance of my visits to them; and from some of them I have been separated by their removal, I have not known where. This last is a cause of separation from many families, with whom I should gladly continue my connexion. I have known one family which has removed twentytwo times in a year.

But the number is great also of those who are as permanently in my pastoral charge, as the members of a religious congregation are in the charge of their minister. Nor can I doubt whether my ministry is greatly useful to a very large number of those with whom I am connected in it. To the last five years which I have devoted to this service, I look back as beyond comparison the best years of my life; and for the happiness of these years, I would forever ascribe thanksgivings to Him, who has granted me the privileges of this ministry. To the benefactors of my poors' purse I return all I can, my hearty gratitude; and I beseech them for a continuance of their kindness. It has relieved, and it has saved, from a very great amount of suffering; and I believe has been conducive as well to the cause of virtue, as to the increase of comfort among the poor. I am, however, far more solicitous that a due regard should be called forth among us to the cause of remedying and of preventing poverty and crime, than to the immediate and even the most pressing necessities of the poor. Every individual owes something to this cause, and every one should feel that he has something to do for it. May God awaken us all to a sense of our true interest and duty in respect to it! Let us be faithful to the means he has given us of correcting and repressing these evils, and as surely as it is not his will that sin and misery shall triumph in our world, so surely will he not withhold his blessing from our ardent desires and persevering efforts for the cause of humanity and christian virtue, of human improvement and happiness.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

NOVEMBER 15, 1831.

(14)

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NINTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT

OF HIS SERVICE AS A

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REPORT.

To the Executive Committee of the

American Unitarian Association.

Gentlemen, — A considerable interest having been excited, both in England and in New-York, in the cause of establishing a ministry at large for the poor of cities, I have had some communication with gentlemen in those places upon this subject. A very favorable impression, I find, has been made of the claims of this ministry; and there is not only a readiness, but a strong disposition in many, at once to establish and to support it. The difficulty, however, I am told, which presses with the greatest force against this object, is that of obtaining fit instruments for the service. But this difficulty, I apprehend, is not in the fact, that there are not suitable instruments enough at hand for the work. I can hardly believe, among the great numbers who are consecrating themselves to the christian ministry, and above all if we look to the almost equal numbers who are now devoting themselves, with unexampled zeal and energy, to the various objects of christian philanthropy, that many, and that more than are wanted cannot be found, who are suited to make this ministry one of the greatest of bless-

ings which can be extended to cities. The difficulty, I imagine, of finding fit instruments for it, arises from the want of distinct conceptions of its objects, and of the means of accomplishing them. In some important respects, the service is a new one; and the experiment of its usefulness and claims has yet been but very partially made. Even those who have been the longest engaged in it, have much to learn of the duties and interests which are involved in it. We may, however, give the results of our observation and experience in the work; and these, perhaps, will furnish the best lights which can be obtained, respecting the qualifications of the instruments which are to be sought for it. Happy shall I be, if, by any exposition I can give of the objects of this ministry, and of the principles of operation which have been adopted in it, I may do anything to induce those who are qualified, to offer themselves for the service; and thus forward in any measure the benevolent designs of those, who are waiting only for the agents whom they may commission and employ in it.

Allow me, however, before I enter upon this topic, to express my ardent desire that the friends of this ministry will do what they can, in its first establishment, to secure its permanency, by appointing those alone to it, who will be disposed to devote to it their hearts, and *their lives*. I should be deeply sorry to see this office made a mere stepping-stone to the ministry in our churches; and, certainly, not less sorry to see men called to it, who, having shown their incapacity in every other department of useful exertion, have therefore been thought to be at least qualified to act as ministers of the poor.

The truth is, that if this ministry shall be committed to incompetent, however zealous agents, it may be an instrument for the increase, rather than the prevention of the evils it is intended to stay, and to correct; and it will very soon be followed, first by the distrust, and then by the discouragement, even of those who were the most earnest of its supporters. Here, indeed, is not only scope, but demand, as well for the energies of intellect and of judgment, as for the zeal of affection and of benevolence; nor do I believe that there is any better school for the cultivation of the intellectual and moral nature, than is to be found in this service.

I have been accustomed to speak of this office as *a ministry at large* for the poor of cities. This has not arisen from any general objection to the term *missionary*, as applied to the service. No one has a higher respect than I have for the office of a Christian Missionary. When I first entered upon the service in which I am now engaged, I felt a happiness to which no language can give expression, in the thought, 'I am now a missionary to the poor.' But after I had passed a year in this work, and had learned something of the extent of the field in which I was laboring; of the condition, and the character and wants, intellectual and moral, of the subjects of this ministry; of the variety of the objects constantly demanding attention, and the diversified modes of operation that are required in it; and, above all, when I perceived that little comparatively could be done that was effectual of much good, till the minister was trained for the service by discipline and experience, and till he had obtained also the decided respect, and confidence, and even affection of those

with whom he should become connected in this office; I then felt the importance of making this *a permanent ministry*. In my first semiannual report of the second year of my service, I therefore proposed this permanent ministry, and called it 'a ministry at large for the poor of cities.' I have no strong predilection for this mode of designating the office. But I am greatly desirous of seeing,—or if this may not be, that others should see,—a new class of ministers arising for this service, who will consecrate themselves wholly to it. The continuance of a minister in this office, and in the place where he shall exercise it, is, I think, of far more importance, than in that of our churches. Nay, more; I venture to say, that a minister will not only be able to do thrice the good in the fifth year in which he shall labor in this field, which he could do in the first; but that, at the close of each successive year in it, if he shall possess the true spirit of his ministry, he will find his soul bound to it by stronger ties; by ties, the disruption of which would be among the most painful of the trials he could be called to bear. Let it then be called, if so it shall be preferred to call it, a missionary service. But I beseech its patrons and supporters to seek for it men, who will give to it all their faculties, and all their days. And I equally beseech those who may be disposed to engage in this good work, to enter upon it with the sentiment, if they shall find themselves suited for it, that for this work they will live, and in this work they will die. If such a ministry can be obtained — and it should be demanded till it is obtained, — and made commensurate with that part of the population of cities which is not under the pastoral charge of the ministers of their

churches, not only will much thus be done to supersede the necessity of the cumbrous police which is now thought to be essential to large cities, but by this means, and by this means only, can the divinely benevolent design of our Lord in regard to this part of the population of cities be accomplished, that they shall be blessed, or made happy, here and hereafter, through his gospel.

I come then to the question, The objects of this ministry, and the principles of operation in it, what are they? By giving such an answer as I may to these questions, something may perhaps be done to aid any one who is interested in the subject to decide, either respecting himself or another, whether he have the qualifications that are required for it.

First, then, let us look at the object of this ministry. What are they? What are their claims upon us? What are our responsibilities in regard to them?

I assume, — and may I not? — that the gospel of Christ is to be preached to all who shall be willing to hear it; and to the poorest and most ignorant, as well as to the wisest and richest of men. How, then, I would ask, are the great body of the poor of cities to be blessed through the gospel, or the religion of Christ? By the ministry which is established in the churches of cities? As our religion is now administered in these churches, this cannot be. In these churches, or religious societies, there are often more than two, and sometimes more than three hundred families, which demand the frequent personal attentions of their ministers. They demand also not only careful and laborious preparations for the public instructions of Sunday, but other

occasional, and it may be frequently recurring services, which require the retirement and study of the minister who would wisely and profitably discharge them. And yet, while no large city in Christendom has ever comprehended in its religious societies more than three fourths of its inhabitants; and while, in many cities, even a much larger proportion of their inhabitants has for ages been unconnected with any of their churches, or religious societies, the guilt of leaving this large number uncared for, with respect to their spiritual condition, their moral exposures, and the objects of the gospel concerning them, seems hardly to have occurred to the mind of the most zealous and philanthropic believers of the religion of Christ. Because each religious society has some who are poor among its members, and because we have been accustomed to the spectacle of well filled churches, and of quiet streets on Sundays, it has therefore been inferred, that all is well in regard to the means for the religious instruction of all. But it is now known, that even in our favored city, — and the sun shines not on one containing an equal number of inhabitants in which better provision is made for religious, as well as for other instruction, — there are thousands who were under no pastoral care, and were in the way of no direct religious influences, till a special ministry was instituted for them. It is, then, for such as these, wherever they are to be found, that I would plead for a new, and a distinct ministry. It is for those, who, from the want of suitable attire, or from the frequency of their removals from one part of a city to another; or from the charge of young children whom they cannot leave; or from the pride which revolts from appearing

in a free seat; or from insensibility and indifference to all the interests and claims of religion; or from vice and recklessness; or from feebleness, or sickness, or old age, are seldom, and perhaps never, to be seen in our churches. And is not christian instruction as important for these classes of our fellow-beings, as it is for those who form our religious societies? And will it not, to a very great extent at least, if it can be wisely and affectionately administered to them, bring to them an inestimable blessing?

But I must speak more definitely of the specific objects of this ministry. I would say, then, that they may be divided into three classes. In the first class I would place the pastoral charge, and the religious instruction of the poor. These are its highest objects. In the second class I would comprehend all those offices of christian sympathy and kindness, which are called for by the various necessities and sufferings of the poor. These are indeed offices, which any christian friend might perform for them; for which the poor need a friend, and often know not where to look for one; and by performing which, the minister may not only communicate very great immediate relief and happiness, but incidentally be an instrument for the prevention of much evil, and even of advancing the highest objects of his office. And in the third class I would place the services which the minister may perform, by the communications he may make respecting poverty and the poor to the more favored classes; by the influences he may exert, in calling forth kindly and christian sentiments in these classes towards each other; and by the aid he may give in the various measures, both private

and public, which may be taken either for the remedy or the prevention of pauperism and crime. Let me say a few words respecting each of these departments of the service to which I wish to call public attention, and in which I am greatly desirous to engage a strong, and an extended interest.

The objects of this ministry which belong to the first class, are, in truth, no other than those which our Lord announced as objects of his own ministry, when he applied to himself the language in which Isaiah had spoken of the long promised Messiah, 'The spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach glad tidings to the poor.' A minister at large is to seek out, and to connect himself in this office with, as many as he can of the families of the poor who belong to no religious society, and are regularly visited by no minister. In these families he is to be a religious teacher, a christian pastor. These families are to constitute his flock, his charge. By this ministry, therefore, the whole body of the poor are to be made, as they cannot otherwise be made, the objects of a christian interest. They are to be instructed in the principles of the christian faith, of a christian life, and of the christian salvation. Jesus Christ is to be made known to them in his character, his offices, his life and his death. His precepts, his promises, his warnings, his consolations, in all their comprehensiveness and simplicity, are to be brought distinctly before the minds, and addressed to the hearts, of the poorest, and even the most degraded and despised of our fellow-beings. If, then, it has been clearly proved that it is practicable, by this ministry, to extend this christian

instruction and care to multitudes, who otherwise would not receive them; if parents and children, who would otherwise be living in heathenish darkness, may be brought to open their minds to religious knowledge, and to put forth their efforts for a religious character; and if these objects are not to be attained but by the institution and maintenance of a ministry distinct from that of the religious congregations of a city, is it not a solemn duty of those who are dedicating themselves to the office of the christian ministry, to look to this among the other fields of labor which the gospel is opening before them? And then, too, are not the obligations of maintaining this ministry as unequivocal, and as imperative, as are those of supporting the ministry in our churches?

Direct religious instruction, however, forms but one, though without doubt the most important, department of this service. Objects of the second class are daily, and almost hourly forcing themselves upon our attention, and soliciting our care. The condition of the class of the poor which falls under the charge of a minister at large, is one which calls for almost every possible form and exercise of christian benevolence. I do not mean only, or principally, that they are experiencing almost every possible kind of physical want. Yet these wants must not, and by a mind which has any of the benevolence of the gospel cannot, be disregarded; for how can we hope to make religious impressions, or to exert religious influences upon the soul, while the half clad, shivering, starving body asks for fuel, or for food, or for a garment, as the greatest of blessings? But, even to meet these pressing necessi-

ties wisely, and effectually, we must look beyond them. Many of the poor suffer greatly, — or if, through the power of habit, they do not suffer as we should in the same circumstances, they are yet miserably destitute, — from ignorance, or a disregard of the means of comfort which are within their reach. Some have abundant capacities for self-support, but are altogether indisposed to labor ; and others are daily expending for their intemperate and debasing appetites, the earnings by which they might feed and clothe their families. Some are inefficient, and need to be excited. They may even need the assistance of a friend to obtain employment for them. And with regard to others, there is no more important service which can be rendered, at once for their immediate comfort, and the preparation of their minds for religious instruction, and for religious exercises, than sympathy and aid in the charge of their children. These children, if left in the sole charge of their parents, will neither receive instruction in a school, nor discipline at home. They will grow up in ignorance, lawlessness, vagrancy and crime. Sometimes it may be the kindest and most important office that can be performed for a family, to obtain its removal to another neighborhood ; for their peculiar dangers and sufferings may arise from the neighborhood in which they live. And sometimes, by other judicious counsel in a time of perplexity and embarrassment, or by the supply of some want which is very painfully felt in sickness, we may rescue from dangers of a very threatening character, and obtain a strong hold upon the mind for higher and better objects. There is, indeed, no service so small, and no office so humble, that it does not properly come

within the official duties of a minister at large. He will more gladly bow himself to wash the feet of the chief of sinners, than of the greatest of saints, if he can thus win the sinner's heart. He is to be, emphatically, and in all things, the poor man's friend, as well as minister; and to acquaint himself not only with the mind and heart of the poor, but with all the circumstances which are exerting an influence on their hearts and characters. These circumstances may be, and often are, wholly beyond the control of the individuals who suffer from them; and may yet be within the power of one who is disposed to act as their benefactor and friend. These circumstances have therefore very strong claims upon the regard of a minister of the poor; and if they should be overlooked by him, or thought unworthy of attention, I should not be very sanguine in my expectations of good from all the other services which he could render.

To the third class of the duties of a minister at large belong all those offices, in which he may engage as a medium of communication, and of connexion, between the classes of society. He goes to the poor, and to the poorest, primarily indeed as a minister of Christ, and for the purpose of preaching to them 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.' But he goes to them from among those who are not poor. Nor is it understood merely that he is, and unless he shall have sufficient property, that he must be, supported in his office by the rich. It is known, too, that as far as he is enabled to relieve the poor under the pressing wants of their poverty, it is through the sympathy of the rich, who have made him their almoner. He has therefore daily opportunities,

and if he be wise he will not fail to improve them, of calling forth the kindly affections of the poor towards the rich ; of giving to them christian views of the connexion which God has instituted between all human interests, and human duties ; and of inculcating the principles which will secure fidelity in duty, even in the poorest and lowest of all the employments of life. And he has frequent opportunities in his daily intercourse, and occasional ones in the Reports which he may make of his services, of giving to the rich a knowledge of poverty and of the poor, which is not otherwise to be obtained. It is, however, and it must not be forgotten that it is, a very partial trial which has yet been made of this ministry. It has indeed conduced, and it is conducing, to very great good. But I not only feel deeply, that we have much to learn of the best modes of operation in it, in view of the two first classes which I have named of its duties ; but equally of those of the third class. Let this ministry be continued, and be wisely appointed, and wisely conducted, and it will do more, I believe, than can be done by any other agency, for making the rich and the poor advantageously known to each other ; and, through the knowledge and feeling which it may extend of their intimate relation to each other as God's children, and of the inseparable connexion which exists between all their various interests, for the excitement and maintenance of a mutual christian sympathy, and feeling of brotherhood, between them. I have often, indeed, felt a strong doubt whether this ministry, if it shall be committed to fit instruments, and maintained at once on the part of those who engage in it, and of those who support it, with a spirit worthy of

its importance and its claims, would not, in every view of it, be as great a blessing to the rich, as to the poor. It may do more than any legislation can accomplish for checking the progress of pauperism and crime. It may bind the employed to the employer by stronger ties than any pecuniary compensation could form. And in various ways, which will readily occur to any one who will reflect upon the subject, it may be made one at least of the strongest bonds of moral connexion, which can be formed between the great classes of the rich and the poor. And on what other, I ask, than moral bonds, is any reliance to be placed in the great exigences of human society? Above all, under a government like ours, what may not be feared from an extent of pauperism, like that which exists in the old world? What may not be feared from a division and hostility among us of the classes of society, analogous to that which the pride, and extravagance, and licentiousness of wealth, not less than of titles and rank, have produced there? And where, or in what is our security against these evils, but in a prevalence among all classes of the principles, and spirit of the gospel of Christ?

I could not satisfy myself with saying less of the objects of this ministry. But I feel no small diffidence in coming to the question, of the modes of action in it. I have my own modes of action in this service, and others have theirs; and I devoutly hope that others will still arise, and come after us, who will better comprehend its interests, and more skilfully teach, as well as discharge its duties, than can even the most zealous, intelligent and devoted of those, who are now engaged

in it. But as there are few favors for which I am more grateful than for any hint which will aid me in seeking the improvement and happiness of those with whom I am or may be connected in this work, I hope that I shall not be thought to have exposed myself to the imputation of arrogance, if I shall give some of the results of my own observations in it. There is, indeed, no topic of this subject, on which so much is yet to be learned, or I may even say to be discovered, as on this. Nor is this a circumstance to excite any surprise. For why is it, that in all the other departments of the administration of our religion, so little, compared with what might have been expected, is accomplished, but that so much is yet to be learned in them all, of the most effectual methods of bringing divine truth to its just and proper bearings on the human mind? Why is the most solicitous domestic instruction, and why is the most vigilant parental care, so often unavailing? And why also are our pulpits, the pastoral visits of our clergy, our schools, and our books of christian piety and morals, exerting no more salutary and life-giving influences, but that they are yet far short of what they should be, and of what a better knowledge of the true means of recommending religion, and of bringing it home to the human soul, would make them? I repeat, therefore, that I do not here assume the office of a teacher. On the contrary, I will gratefully sit at the feet of any one, who can give me any new lesson of which I may avail myself in this service. There are, however, two or three general questions respecting modes of operation in it, upon which I am willing to offer an opinion. I refer to the inquiries, which have

repeatedly been proposed to me, how may the greatest number of that part of the population of a large city, for which this ministry is intended, be most efficiently brought within the influence of its instruction and care? Is it desirable to have chapels or churches built for the poor? And should this ministry be made an instrument, through the poor who can be gathered by it into congregations, for forming new religious societies and new churches in our cities? I can do little more, in the space which I have, than simply to express an opinion on these subjects.

'How, then,' it may be asked, 'may the greatest number of that part of the population of a large city, for which this ministry is intended, be most efficiently brought within the influence of its instruction and care? Should each minister, for this purpose, consider a whole city as before him, in every part of which he is to seek out those whom he may connect with the religious denomination to which he belongs; or, should he take a single district, within which he will confine his objects and his labors?" — I do not hesitate to reply, that if it shall be the great design of a minister of the poor to collect the largest number, who will profess themselves to be of his own denomination of Christians, he may very probably be most successful by rejecting all limits to the field of his ministry. But if he shall have the infinitely higher purpose, to aid the largest number which he may in becoming practical Christians, he will mark out for himself bounds, which will comprehend as many as he can faithfully serve as a christian friend; and to each individual of these will endeavor to commend himself, — not as an Episcopalian, a Presbyterian, or Co

gregationalist, or as Orthodox or Unitarian, but simply — as a follower and minister of Christ. I fear, indeed, for this ministry, from nothing so much, as from its exposure to the narrowness and bigotry of party spirit in its instruments. Surely we have seen enough of the influence of this spirit, to admonish us, in any new enterprise for the advancement of the spirit of Christ, to shun and escape it, as, in any other enterprise, we would be warned against the circumstances which have brought disappointment, and perhaps failure to those who embarked in it. Here, in truth, is a call for men who acknowledge no master but Christ; who hold themselves amenable to no human authority for their judgments upon questions regarding religious doctrines; and who, making Christ their model, and Christ their teacher, go to their work, 'in Christ's stead to beseech men to be reconciled to God.' Let such men, within as narrow a space as they can, each find three hundred families, to whom in every practicable way of usefulness, they will from day to day, minister, and not only will they find within this circle sufficient employment for every hour which they can give to their work, but they will save much time which must otherwise be wasted in passing over the long distances which will be between the objects of their charge; and they will show also the respect which is due to others, who would devote themselves to the same ministry. Nor have I a doubt that a far greater good would thus be attained, than could be by traversing a much larger field, and by doubling or tripling the number to whom the visits of a minister might be extended.

Again. It is asked, 'Should we build churches or

chapels for the poor? I answer, that while I think this mode of operation to be secondary in its claims, and to promise little in comparison with a daily and hourly ministration from house to house, yet as considerable numbers, even of the very poor, may be brought together on the evenings of Sunday, for social worship and instruction, and a few may be collected for a service in the day, it is therefore well to have small and unexpensive chapels for these services. But if a commodious hall may be obtained, near the centre of the neighborhood of a large number of the poor, I should not advise the erection of a chapel. A very large proportion of the poor, it is to be remembered, frequently change their place of habitation; and the parts of the city to which they remove are often far apart from one another. It will often, therefore, be inconvenient, or impracticable, to continue their connexion with a particular chapel or hall of worship. Many, too, who will go, and be glad to go to an evening service, cannot leave their homes during the day, either because they have young children who demand their care, or because they have not the attire in which they are willing to go abroad. I venture indeed to say, that far less than half of those for whom this ministry is most important, can be gathered for anything like a constant attendance upon the services of a mission-house or chapel. They are, therefore, to be ministered to at home. And as far as any can be induced and enabled regularly to give their attendance upon the religious services of a church on Sunday, it seems to me very desirable that they should be persuaded, as far as may be, to connect themselves with the existing congregations, or religious societies,

in the city ; while, if it shall be thought best, they may still be in the charge of the minister of the poor who has brought them into this connexion. I would say also, that not more than one public service in the day time should be required of a minister at large on Sunday ; because half of the day may be far more profitably appropriated to visiting those who cannot be brought together for public worship, and who are then to be found at home under circumstances the most favorable for religious and moral influence. He may, however, preach on other days, in any room of those whom he visits ; and he may have a regular Sunday evening service in his hall or chapel. But, I repeat, let the poor, as far as it can be done, be brought into the congregations of the rich ; and there, as our Lord and master intended that they should, let them worship together. There let them send up the mingled incense of united adoration and thanksgivings, of penitential acknowledgments and fervent supplications ; and there let them open their hearts to a sense at once of their relation to each other, through their common relation to God, and of their great common interests ; of their reciprocal duties, and of the common and infinitely glorious inheritance to which God is calling them. Many may thus be united with our churches, who otherwise would have lived and died unconnected with any of them. Still, however, after all that can be done to bring them into this connexion, there will be many, to whom, if the gospel is to be preached, it must and can be only in the family circle ; many, therefore, who will be without the pale of the christian ministry, unless there shall be a ministry exclusively for them.

My reply to the third query, 'Should this ministry be made an instrument for the formation of new religious societies?' is plainly to be inferred from what I have said in my reply to the second. If, indeed, a chapel, or a mission-house for the poor, shall become a centre in which those who can build and support a new house of worship shall be disposed to form themselves into a new religious society, and to unite themselves with the poor who are collected there, it is well. Let a new religious society then be formed there. But most earnestly should I deprecate any measures, which should have for their end the establishment of congregations, or of religious societies, exclusively of the poor. It is a very important purpose of the ministry for which I plead, to bring the classes of society into a new, and christian union with each other; and it is greatly to be regretted, that our religious societies are constituted as they now are, in respect to the accommodation of any but proprietors in their places of public worship. The poor, who would gladly unite with them, but who cannot pay for the privilege, in the largest number of our places of worship have at best a very narrow space appropriated for them; and there they must sit apart, as 'the class of the poor.' This is a practice not less inconsistent with our political principles, than it is with the spirit of Christianity. Under other governments, where distinctions of rank and of rights are universally recognised, the poor feel themselves to be, and revolt not at being treated, both politically and religiously, as *a caste*. But far otherwise is it under our institutions, for the preservation of which, religious as well as political, no means is more important, than the excitement and maintenance

of an interest in them, and an attachment to them, in the mass of the poorer departments of society. Let nothing, then, be done by this ministry, by which the poor shall be made to feel that the very religion, which is intended to be a bond of union between them and their fellow men, is itself an instrument of their separation from the more favored classes of their fellow beings. The attempt, by any means, to build up and to increase the number of religious societies, composed of those, who, without bringing themselves into great pecuniary embarrassments, and taxing others to uphold them, cannot support a ministry, I deem alike impolitic, and wrong; and if the ministry for the poor shall be employed for this object, I feel assured that, by this single circumstance, it will be not less exposed to fall into discredit, and to become an utter failure, than it will if it shall be engaged in only as a temporary service, and in preparation for the ministry of our churches.

Having given my judgment upon these questions, I would state a few great principles of operation in the ministry, which I have tested, and have found to be of increasing value in proportion as I have learned how to apply them. This, I think, will be a better service than I could render by any statements of my own modes of action in particular cases.

I observe then, in the first place, that, either for personal happiness in this ministry, or for success in it, we must regard poverty, and the poor, as Jesus Christ regarded them. We must have a love of man, *as man*, like that which glowed in the heart of Jesus. We must recognise in every human being a child of our Father in heaven, and go to our work under the full influence

of the sentiment of christian brotherhood with those, whom it may be our privilege to serve as ministers of Christ.

This christian interest in the poor, this affectionate care for them, and this solicitude for their highest improvement and well-being,—for their happiness through their piety and virtue, — is the first of all requisites, not only for making the proffered services of the minister acceptable, but even in any considerable degree useful. This is, in truth, no other than the principle of a true sympathy with Jesus Christ in the distinctive object of his religion, that, through its influence, the poor are to be blessed ; that, through his teaching, and the spirit of his gospel, even the poorest may be made rich by the acquisition of a treasure, which is infinitely more precious than all outward good. This simple and divine principle in the soul of a minister of the poor will inspire the consciousness, that he has himself obtained a better possession, when he has been an instrument of bringing a family, or an individual, under the influences of the gospel of Christ, than if, by any other operation, he had even obtained for himself great riches. It will also be to him for light, where otherwise he would have found himself in the thickest darkness ; and for encouragement, where, without it, he would have shrunk from the obstacles which will sometimes beset his path. It will even reveal to him the strength and the weaknesses, the virtues and the vices of those to whom he shall minister. It will suggest to him new modes of action when old ones have failed him, and make him patient with the dull, tender and kind to the feeble and susceptible, as affectionate as he is persevering towards the

apparently obdurate, and ever forbearing even towards the most violent opposer. It will gradually soften hearts, which at first appeared to be impenetrable, and call forth in them sentiments of regard, and confidence, and attachment; and it will make him feel, that, in being permitted to minister to the moral recovery and the spiritual advancement of any, even the meanest of his brethren, who would otherwise have been overlooked, and neglected, and left in ignorance, and recklessness, and sin, for whom yet Christ lived and died, he is one of the most privileged, and ought to be one of the most grateful and devoted, of the children of God in this world. I do not say that no one should make a trial of his capacities for this service, till he shall feel the full extent of this religious interest in the poor, and the most exposed of his fellow-beings. But I think that, if, after a fair trial of the work, he shall not find this sentiment to be daily growing in his heart, he may reasonably conclude that this is not the department of the ministry to which the providence of God has called him.

Again. I adduce it as an elementary principle of this ministry, that we should go to it with a true and strong spirit of sympathy with every one, whom we may be called to address, or with whom we may have to expostulate, *as a sinner*. The first principle to which I have adverted will keep us constantly mindful of the sentiment of our Lord, 'I am among you as one that serveth.' And the second, implying a constant recognition of the fact, 'I, too, am a sinner,' will dispose and prepare us, as we could not otherwise be prepared, gently, kindly, and affectionately to approach our offending

brother. This second principle, therefore, in my estimation, is not of less importance than the first. Here we are brought into connexion with those, whose lives have passed under far different influences from our own. We have neither been exposed, as they have been, and were never perhaps inclined to the vices and crimes into which they have fallen. But may not our own sins, in the sight of God, and under the circumstances in which we committed them, be as great as theirs? I plead for no false sensibility on this subject; for no artificial and assumed feelings; for no self-accusations of sins of which we are innocent. But it is the truth, and a matter of simple truth, that we are ourselves the fellow sinners even of the greatest transgressors. Let a conviction of this truth, then, be ever present to our minds, when we are speaking to others of their sins. It is, indeed, hardly conceivable by those who have not made the experiment, how close is the intimacy which may be formed in this service of mind with mind; and what a free and willing access may be obtained in it even to minds, which spurn the authority of law, and in mockery laugh at, or indignantly resent, every other indication of an attempt to control them. But, for this end, we must identify ourselves with the transgressor, through that sympathy with which nothing short of a strong sense of our own sins can inspire us. Few are so dull that they cannot perceive, though they may not be able to explain, the actings of this principle in the soul of one who addresses them; and few consciences are so dead, as to be wholly insensible to the motives and persuasions which it will suggest and urge, to impress and win the heart of the sinner. Under its influ-

ence, the minister of the poor can never be authoritative, harsh, severe, or reproachful in manners, or in language; for even without speaking of himself, yet feeling this principle, he will but press upon the sinner his own deep felt convictions, his own most dearly cherished interests, his own firm purposes, and his own ardent hopes. Every feeling, therefore, of his own sins, and every effort he shall make for the self-improvement to which the gospel calls him, is an increase of his qualifications for the ministry, in which he would be an instrument of bringing his brother sinner to repentance, and to salvation.

Again. As it is a peculiarity of this ministry, that its objects are to be sought rather through direct personal intercourse, than by preaching, and therefore, that it principally addresses itself immediately to the individual mind, the principle should never be lost sight of, that a constant regard is here to be had to the distinctive circumstances, both personal and relative, of every individual to whom it is extended. Allow me then to say, that, in this service, the inquiries should constantly be present to our minds, 'what are here the prevailing principles, dispositions, and tendencies?' 'What are the effects upon the individual of the employment in which he is engaged, and the company with which he associates?' 'What are the influences at home which are conducing to good in him, and what to evil?' 'What is there in his mind, or heart, which is to be cherished and strengthened, and by the culture and advancement of which the whole character may be improved; and, what is the prejudice there, the passion, or the habit, which it is most desirable,

and most important, should immediately be corrected ?' Some, even of those who are living most viciously, it will be found were religiously educated, and will not have forgotten the care with which they were reared, and the hopes which were indulged of them. This is a circumstance which may be of great importance to the objects of a religious teacher; for of those who have been recovered from gross vice, I believe that nineteen out of twenty will be found to have received early religious instruction ; and that their reformation, under God, is principally to be ascribed to the revived influence of this instruction. Some, also, have been reared from infancy in an atmosphere of sin, and have never received a strong impression of a religious principle, or had a strong sense of a religious obligation. Still they may not be, and in truth they are not, wholly without natural conscience ; and the skill of the teacher is to be exerted upon this conscience, in awakening its almost deadened capacities. Some were early accustomed to a condition of at least comparative prosperity, and others have never known any other than a life of poverty. Having then obtained as perfect a knowledge as he can of all within, and without, which is conducing to the virtue or vice of the individual, the teacher will understand something of the nature of the work which he will have to do ; of the objects to which he is particularly to direct his attention and cares ; and, of the means he is to employ to attain these objects. And though, after all that he may thus have learned, his success may be far short of his hopes, he will, yet, to the extent to which his influence shall be felt, and to which the individual shall be brought to coöperate with him, have the satisfaction to

know that he is working for a radical, and a permanent reformation.

I would state another principle which is constantly to be cherished, and maintained in this ministry. I mean, that we should be careful to carry into it a deep feeling of respect for the actual rights, and capacities, of the individual mind. I do not indeed suppose that this principle is of greater importance here, than in any other department of the christian ministry. But here, more easily perhaps than in the ministry of our churches, we may lose sight of it. What, indeed, it may be asked by some, are the rights, which belong to a condition of ignorance, and dependence, and degradation, and sin? And, what is the respect which is due to him, who has no respect for himself? I reply, that the capacities and rights of an immortal nature, of a being who must account for himself to God, and in whom the objects of the gospel of Christ can be accomplished only by his own free choice of truth, and virtue, and duty, have the highest claims to the respect of a religious teacher, even in the most wayward and debased of our fellow men. For how is it, but through his capacities and rights of thought and understanding, of judgment and affection, of choice and of will, that any one is, or can be, a subject of the moral government of God, and accountable to him? It is a new world of interests, and as distinct a course of action, into which we are brought in our intercourse with our fellow-beings, by christian sentiments on this single subject respecting them. Our own use of these rights, and our improvement of these capacities, may, perhaps, have raised us, in our moral condition, above some poor, degraded fellow-beings, even more

than we are raised above them by the circumstances of our outward condition. But enfeebled as these powers may be in them, and perverted, and corrupted, they are not wholly lost; for if they were, the individuals would not be proper subjects of the christian ministry. A man may be regardless of his capacities and rights, and unconscious of their importance and worth, and of the responsibility which they bring upon him; and it may even be the high office of the minister into whose charge he may fall, to reveal this individual to himself. And what an exalted ministry is that, in which we are called to bring home to any soul a conception which it never had, of the capacities with which God has endowed it; of the certainty, which has been unfelt, of an immortal existence; and of the necessary connexion of human happiness, and misery, with its freely formed habits, and its chosen moral condition! And does God himself, — I ask with reverence, — act upon the human mind, or heart, for its conversion, or restoration, independently of the free exercise of those capacities, by which he has constituted us moral and accountable agents? How then shall man be made an instrument of the salvation of his fallen brother, if he respect not in him those powers and rights, which are the essential constituents of the soul that is to be redeemed? Is it still asked, how may we aid the poor manacled and fettered spirit, to regain its freedom? How may we awaken in him a sense, and fasten upon him a conviction, of the greatness and excellence of the capacities which he has given over to sin? How shall we teach him, and help him to feel, that he has power, and that he must use it, to return to God; and that if he will seek, because he

truly wants it, God will not withhold the assistance he needs to break his chains and to recover his liberty ? I can only answer, that, as far as human agency may be effectual in this work, he, I believe, will possess the best light, and will labor with the best success, who, under the guiding influence of the instructions and example of our Lord, shall always, and in everything, most carefully maintain the respect which is due to these capacities and essential principles of human nature, which our heavenly Father himself respects in all his dealings with man as a moral being. And he, I think, will most faithfully regard these capacities and principles of our common nature in others, who is most strongly impressed with their importance and worth in himself, and with his own accountableness for the use which he shall make of them. If any one have not a consciousness in what consists the essential worth of the rights and powers of his own moral, accountable and immortal nature, I know of no rules which aid him in awakening this consciousness in the soul of another.

It is another principle, which should never be forgotten in this ministry, that human nature, — or, to speak more definitely, a fellow sinner, — is never to be given up, as if he were either beyond the pale of God's mercy, or of human hope, and charity, and labor. I give a prominence also to this principle, because in this ministry, far more than we should be in that of our churches, we are called to a frequent and intimate communication with obdurate, and reckless offenders ; and because here, therefore, unless we are strongly impressed with it, we shall not only find our own energies daily enfeebled by new discouragements, but we shall be dis-

regarding one of the highest, and most glorious of the objects of Christianity, and of the ministry it has instituted, the salvation of *the lost*. Here, it may be, that from day to day we shall be brought into the society of the confirmedly intemperate, into whose very bones and marrow, and every thought and affection, the chains of the appetite which has enslaved them seem not only to have grown, but to have become identical with the very principle of their existence. But are they, therefore, to be overlooked, as no longer subjects of the moral government of God? Even if all expedients which have yet been tried shall have failed, are there no new expedients which christian benevolence can devise for their recovery? Would he who came to seek and to save that which was lost, pass them uncared for, while God continues to them any use of their reasoning powers, or while any principles of their moral nature are still living in their hearts? Here, too, we shall meet the equally perverted, who have reasoned themselves, as far as they could, out of all principle, and into a justification of every sin, to which passion may prompt, or desperation may drive them. And here must be met those, who have fallen into that deepest of the abysses of human iniquity, that foulest and most corrupting of sins, that sin which extends the deepest and deadliest of moral poisons into the soul, and of all sins seems most completely to deprave and deaden every faculty of the moral nature; I mean, the sin of licentiousness; of profligacy. But, is even the profligate to be given up? I have seen the human soul, and have been called to minister to it, in some at least of the most painful varieties of debasement into which

it is brought by violations of conscience, and of God's will. And I have seen, that, even where the moral nature seemed to be dead, utterly dead, it is very possible, by feeling long and patiently about the heart, that some pulsation may be found there to indicate, or even to prove, that the principle of moral life, and the capacity of moral feeling, are not, in truth, wholly extinct. While God, then, shall continue life, shall we not continue our efforts, and our prayers, as the ministers of his mercy? Besides, even if, in regard to many, we must, to carry out the rule that human nature is never to be given up, hope against hope, and labor without making even the smallest apparent progress, still, if we shall persevere, some occasion may be given in the providence of God, in which a way will be opened for us that we thought not of; and in which a success, to call forth our eternal gratitude and praise, will follow our cares, our prayers, and our exertions. Would, indeed, that I had a warning voice, by which I could carry home to every soul, especially of the young, a conviction of the extent and fearfulness of the desolations to which the human soul may be, and is brought, by abandonment to intemperance, to falsehood and dishonesty, or to a life of profligacy! I can hardly conceive of the degradation, and the misery, which I have not witnessed, as the consequences and the wages of these sins. And I have seen many, very many, who, having resisted all reasonings, and all persuasions, have gone, — into eternity, moral suicides, to stand before their Judge in the fulness of their unrepented sins. But I would still repeat, let human nature, let a fellow sinner never be given up. Let a minister of Christ

never be weary, and never discouraged with a transgressor, even though all the world beside should forsake, and give him up as hopeless. I have seen that there may be at least an apparently real restoration, even in a case apparently as desperate as any one to which the moral nature may be brought; and I have seen those recovered to temperance, and faithfully maintaining it, who were once broken down, were the scourge and misery of their families, and were threatened with premature death, by their habitual and lawless excesses. To God, then, let us look in every step of our way, seeking his guidance and aid; remembering our own dependence on mercy, and exercising the mercy, which, could we imagine ourselves to be in the condition of our fallen brother, we could wish should then be extended to ourselves. This is plainly the rule of the gospel, and it should never be forgotten by a minister of the poor.

I might state other principles, which have, I think, a peculiar bearing upon this ministry. But I forbear. I must however observe, that I do not forget that here, at least as much as in any other department of the administration of our religion, we need the light and power which God only can communicate; the influences of his spirit; and that here, too, if any one is an instrument of good to a fellow-being, to God we are to ascribe the success, and to him we are to render the glory. I know not, indeed, the sphere of human action, in which human need of divine aid is more impressively taught, than in the services of this ministry. Strangely constituted must be that mind, which, amidst the spectacles that are here daily witnessed, at once o

human weakness, and exposure, and want, and suffering, and of the power of human propensities and habits, and amidst the embarrassments and trials which are here daily to be met, shall not often and strongly feel its personal insufficiency for the objects, for the attainment of which the gospel yet calls for human interest, and sympathy, and coöperation. But, blessed be God, this very gospel assures us, that he will not withhold his holy spirit from those who ask him for it. This is the first and the last, the beginning and the end, of the encouragements to this ministry; nor can I conceive that any one who should attempt this service, independently of this divine aid, would long obtain the remunerations of his work, which would induce him to continue in it.

But while I plead for a special ministry for the poor, I am fully aware that our religion knows of no substitute, and that its believers should not think of proposing any, for that extended and personal connexion between the wise and the ignorant, the rich and the poor, the virtuous and the vicious, at which our Lord aims in the sentiment addressed to them without discrimination, *all ye are brethren.* No one, indeed, I think, who has watched the operations of this ministry, can doubt whether it have done much in our city, to quicken and extend a sense of the relations into which Christianity would bring the classes of society with each other. And, let me here observe, that something will also I hope, be done in this cause by the publication of Degerando's 'Visitor of the Poor.' I commend this work to the readers of my Reports, in the belief that it is suited to do much to make the service to which it calls

its readers profitable at once to those who may engage in it, and to those to whom this service may be extended.

The past winter, it will be remembered, was one of unusual severity. It was also a season of unusual sickness. But although there was a proportionably unusual demand for fuel, and although its price was one third higher than in several preceding winters, there yet was not, I think, any unusual suffering among the poor, from a want of the means of warmth and comfort. The cold weather of the winter began very early, and public sympathy with the suffering was strongly excited among us. The rich were liberal in their contributions for the necessitous, and the distributors of their bounty were faithful in the appropriation of it. Much moral evil, I believe, was thus prevented, and much moral, as well as physical good, was promoted. There are, without doubt, cases of an unwise and injurious distribution of alms among us. But I believe there is as little ground for complaint, or for apprehension on this subject, in our city, as in any city of equal numbers in our country, or in the world.

Of my own services, during the last six months, I can only say, that I have endeavored to do what I could. At the close of the last December I was taken from my work by a dangerous illness, which confined me to my house for five weeks ; and I have recently been absent from the city for eight days. My visits, therefore, for the last half year, have been but thirteen hundred and twentyone, and these have been divided between four hundred and fifteen families. I have been obliged also, from inability to preach, wholly to relinquish the services of the chapel. A recurrence to this last circum-

stance, and to the fact, that twice, during the last year, I have been admonished by sudden and severe illness of the tenure by which I hold my life in this world, constrains me to urge again my strong desire, that some one should take my place in this ministry, to whom I may act as an assistant from house to house, and on whom may devolve the whole duties of the chapel. Not only would my life be rendered far happier, could I pass the remnant of it in this relation with one who could bear the full heat and burden of the day, but with far greater happiness should I then look to its close. 'But all is in His hands, whose praise we seek.' Six, beside myself, are now employed wholly as ministers of the poor in this city; and, not less active than either of us in this field of duty, is Mr Taylor, the seamen's preacher and friend. We have good reason therefore to believe, that this ministry will be one of our permanent institutions. It has conduced to very great good; and, if fit instruments shall be obtained for it, and it shall be wisely conducted, it will never want either public approbation, or patronage. May the Lord of the harvest raise up for us, and send forth, new, and more efficient laborers, into this department of his harvest!

Respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

BOSTON, MAY 5, 1832.

(15)

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AS A

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"The gentlest method which I know, and at the same time one of the most effectual of the methods, of stopping the progress of vice, is *by removing the temptations to it.*" — *Fielding's "Causes of the Increase of Robbers."* Works, Vol. X. p. 351.

"It is the misfortune of this country, (England) and it has been the calamity, and may prove the destruction of Ireland, that *the different classes of society have not a sufficient bond and connexion of intercourse.*" — *Sir Thomas Barnard, on the Education of the Poor*, p. 60.

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REPORT.

To the Executive Committee of the

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN, — The term poverty, as I have used it in my Reports, signifies a dependence upon charity for the means of subsistence. I consider no one, therefore, in the strict sense of the term, as poor, who is not thus dependent; and every one who thus depends on charity, during the time of this dependence, and in the degree of it, is poor. In view of this definition, in my Report of May 5th, 1830, I divided the poor into three classes. 1st, those who are only occasionally, and partially poor. 2d, those who are frequently, and considerably poor. And, 3d, those who are constantly, and absolutely poor. Between these general divisions, I observed, that there are examples of every supposable degree, and kind of poverty; and I brought before you such examples as I could, within the limits I must prescribe to myself, of the character and condition of each of these classes of the poor among us. My only object, however, then was, to expose the injustice of the sentiment which is sometimes formed of the whole of the poor, from the specimens which we see abroad as vagrants, or which come to our

houses for broken food, or which are generally found in alms-houses. But there are other, and not less important classifications to be made of this great department of our fellow beings, if we would think correctly, or act wisely, or justly respecting them. I cannot, however, proceed to the classification which I would now offer, without pausing to bring the consideration distinctly and strongly before my own mind, that I am about to classify, in some respects at least with a view to mere pecuniary calculations respecting the charge of them, not creatures of another and a lower nature than our own, but our equals in natural rights; our fellow immortals; the children, equally with ourselves, of him whom we call "our Father in heaven;" and some who are our superiors, it may be, in all which constitutes excellence in the sight of God. I would therefore think of them, in every step of my way, with the respect, and interest, and affection which are due to them, in view of our common origin, our consequent relation to each other, and our common infirmities, exposures, defects, and final accountableness. I would not, indeed, while thinking of our duties in respect to the poor, forget the duties of the poor to themselves, and to society; for it is no part of charity to minister to idleness, and recklessness, and vice. But, in truth, never shall we do anything which will avail much for the remedy, or the prevention of pauperism, or of crime, or even for the relief of the most pressing wants of those who stand most in need of the relief we can give them, till we strongly feel the sentiment of a common nature with them, and are brought to act upon the broad principles at once of christian justice, and of christian humanity.

"The condition of man," says Colquhoun, "is susceptible of four material distinctions. First, that of utter inability to procure subsistence. Second, that of inadequate ability. Third, that of adequate ability, and no more. Fourth, that of extra ability, which is the ordinary state of man, and is the source of wealth." * The

* Colquhoun has made three classes of the "causes of indigence." The first class he designates, "causes of indigence irremediable." The second, "remediable indigence, requiring props to raise it to a state of poverty." The third, "culpable causes of indigence." — "*Poverty*," he says, "is that condition of society, where the individual has no surplus labor in store, and, consequently, no property but what is derived from constant industry in the various occupations of life. Or, in other words, it is the state of every one who must labor for subsistence." — "*Indigence*," he defines to be "that condition in society, which implies *want*, *misery* and *distress*. It is the state of any one who is destitute of the means of subsistence." (Treatise on Indigence, pp. 7, 8.) I quote these definitions, because, without them, this classification would hardly be intelligible. I am not satisfied, however, with this distinction between indigence and poverty, or with this definition of *poverty*. An individual is not poor, and should not be thought to be poor, who by his or her industry, in any of the occupations of life, can and does obtain the means of subsistence. Nor is a family to be considered as poor, the wants of which are met either by its head, or by the united exertions of its members, without appealing to charity. Such a family, or such an individual, by sickness, or other causes, may in a short time be brought to poverty, or to a dependence on charity. And so also may the most affluent individual, or the most affluent family. But as long as any shall actually provide for their own necessities, though compelled to daily labor to make this provision, they are not poor. This distinction between those who can, and do, and those who do not, and cannot provide for their own wants, is, I think, important. There are not a few who labor very hard for self-support, and who live by their own labors, though indeed sometimes called to painful privations, who

poor are comprehended in the two first of these divisions. The two last comprehend those who have a competency, and the rich. This classification, however, is too general. Fielding* divides the poor into "three classes. First, those who are unable to work. Second, those who are able and willing. And, third, those who are able and not willing." Of the last of these classes it is very clear, that society has a right to oblige them to do as much work, as will give a fair compensation for their support. The right is quite as perfect to authorize a justice of the peace, or a civil court, to send one who is living, and who shows a determination to live upon charity, while he *can*,

are perhaps excited to industry by no circumstance more strongly, than by a dread of being ranked with the poor, by falling into a state of dependence on charity. Let such persons be considered, and treated, as if they belong to the great division of the poor, and you will chill this spirit of industry. You will unnerve the arm which was strong for toil, and open for charity the hand which has been clenched against it.

I am glad of this opportunity, and I will not let it pass, to pay the tribute of my very high respect to the memory of Colquhoun, who, while he was exceeded by no one in his fidelity as a magistrate, appears, in the discharge of his official duties, never to have lost his sympathy with human weakness and want, and his deep interest in the moral recovery of the vicious. The police of cities has suffered from nothing so much, as from the want of this sympathy and this interest in its officers. The wisest civil regulations that can be devised will avail but little for the advancement of society, if the magistrates who execute them look not beyond the letter of their commission, and fail to communicate what they learn of the causes, the remedy, and the prevention of crime; and if the agents whom they employ as their ministers of justice, are scarcely, in moral character, raised above the culprits who are brought before them.

* See "Causes of the Increase of Robbers &c." Fielding's Works, Vol. x. p. 388.

but *will not* work, to a House of Employment, as to send a drunkard to a House of Correction. And well would it be for our community, and for every community, and well also for the obdurately indolent poor themselves, if this right were not only legalized, but if its exercise were demanded by public opinion. Surely, a broad distinction should be made between those who *will*, uncompelled, do nothing for their own support, and those who are poor while they are actually availing themselves of every means which they have, and of every opportunity, for self-subsistence. In respect to those who are poor, and *cannot* work, there is, and can be in fair minds, no doubt of our duty. It may indeed be a question difficult of solution, "how may we most wisely provide for them?" But, provide for them we must, or we are guilty before God. But these divisions of Fielding are also too general. They overlook, or come short of, some of the most important distinctions in regard to poverty, and the poor. They give no light on some of the most important questions which arise upon these subjects.

I would divide the poor, then, into four classes.

In the *first* class I would place those who are *irremediably* and *innocently poor;* who have been made poor by causes beyond their own control.

The *second* class comprehends those whose poverty is *remediable*, and who, like those of the first class, are *innocently poor.*

The *third* class includes those who are *remediably poor*, but *poor by their own fault.*

The *fourth* class consists of those whose poverty is *irremediable*, and is to be ascribed to *their own misconduct.*

I do not offer these as a substitute for all other classifications of the poor. Far otherwise. But I think that they will do something to aid us in conceiving more justly of the condition and character of the poor; of the character of their claims, and of our specific duties in regard to them. And it is not a small good that is obtained, if the obscurity of our views of these great subjects is even so far diminished, that we are encouraged more earnestly and perseveringly to endeavor to comprehend them.

Here let me add a word of explanation, before I adduce examples of those who are to be placed in these several divisions.

In speaking of those who are *innocently poor*, and of those who are *poor by their own fault*, or their own misconduct, I would be understood to refer only to the immediate, or personal causes of the poverty of the individuals, who become objects either of private, or of public bounty. Many are made poor by the heedlessness, the recklessness, or the guilt of others, who are yet themselves, as far as their poverty is concerned, entirely innocent. This is a consideration not to be lost sight of; for it would manifestly be most unjust to treat the innocent as if they were guilty; and it would be equally injurious to themselves, and to society, to treat the guilty as if they were innocent. — Secondly, I would remark, that *innocence*, and *guilt*, as I here use them, are relative, and comparative terms. Not only may an individual be very far from innocence, in view of his general character, while yet he may be innocent with respect to the circumstances which have brought him to poverty; but it is important also to understand, that there are very different degrees of moral evil in the circumstances, to

which the poverty of individuals is immediately to be ascribed. To act justly, therefore, in regard to the individual, and wisely in respect to society, we must maintain a perpetual reference to this diversity of circumstance, and of character. — I must observe also, that some qualification is to be made of the terms *remediable*, and *irremediable*. There is, indeed, a poverty which is absolutely irremediable, and which no foresight, and skill, and provision can prevent, because its causes are wholly beyond human control. Examples of this poverty will be found in the first of the classes into which I shall divide the poor. But there is also a poverty, which is irremediable with respect to the individuals suffering under it, while yet much may be done to prevent the action of its causes upon others. Examples of this kind may be found in the second of the following classes. And there is also a great extent of poverty in the classes, in which I consider it to be remediable, in which, as in many diseases, it is remediable in very different degrees; in some cases entirely, and in others very partially. There is also a poverty, from which the individuals suffering under it cannot, unaided, recover themselves, while yet they may be recovered from it by others, or be brought by others into a condition in which they may provide amply for a comfortable subsistence. — With these preliminary observations in view, I proceed to illustrate the classifications which I have suggested of the poor, with respect to the kinds of poverty, and to its moral character.

The first of the classes to which I have referred consists of those who are *irremediably*, and *innocently* poor; who have been made poor by *causes beyond their*

own control; or who are poor, in the phrase of law, "*by the act of God.*" Who are they?

I answer, 1st, those who are *incurably insane*, either from a constitutional tendency to mental derangement, or simply from disease, or from a bodily injury which has befallen them, or who are made insane by adversity, or by some other great affliction, or by any cause for which the individual is not himself culpable, and who, by their insanity, are brought to a permanent dependence on charity for the means of their subsistence. Irremediable poverty is indeed a necessary consequence of incurable insanity with every one, who, while sane, could only make provision for the passing day, or week; or, who was even then occasionally, and partially dependent for support upon the hand of charity. There are poor of this class in families, in insane hospitals, and even in prisons. The richest of the incurably insane will, indeed, in one sense, be as dependent for life on charity, as the poorest of his fellow beings who is suffering under the same dreadful malady. But the cost to be incurred for the charge of one in this condition who is rich, is paid from his own resources. Though wholly incapable, therefore, of appropriating these resources for his own support, he is not poor. But he to whom no such resources are left in a case of incurable insanity, must be permanently provided for either by public, or by private bounty. And if he have not brought this insanity upon himself by folly, or by vice, he has a legal right to a comfortable provision for his maintenance, on the principle, that "the act of God injures no man." His *right* to support from the care and kindness of others is as perfect, as is the right of

the insane rich man to support from his own property.*

* I cannot here discuss the question, of *the rights of the poor*. But I would invite attention to it. There is often great vagueness, and not unfrequently great injustice, in the sentiments of men upon this subject. "A poor man," says Paley, (Philosophy, pp. 82, 83,) "has a right to relief. Yet, if it be refused him, he must not extort it. — He has a right to relief from the rich. But the mode, the season, the quantum of relief, and who shall contribute it, are not ascertained." Let these qualifications be admitted, — and I fully admit them, — and what do they imply? Imperfection either in the right of the poor, or in the corresponding obligations of the rich? No. They do, however, imply a right in the rich to judge for themselves respecting the mode, the season, the quantum of relief, and how much each one is bound himself to contribute. But the obligation thus to judge, and to judge justly in the case, and to act in conformity to this judgment is a perfect obligation. Let this obligation be felt, and acted upon, and the rights of the poor will be better understood, and better secured, than they could be by any legal definitions, or legal enactments. By the poor, as well as by the rich, rights may be forfeited. But how are rights forfeited except by wrong doing? And, in any case in which they are forfeited, the question is of great importance, to what extent? A criminal, who has forfeited his life to the laws, is not considered to have forfeited his right to food, clothing and shelter, while the laws shall permit him to live. Who, indeed, would not cry out against the injustice, as well as against the inhumanity, of refusing food to a hungry criminal? And why, but because his necessity, and his inability to provide for his wants, give him a right to food from the common stock of others? Has not *an innocently poor person*, then, in proportion to *his* inability, a right to a comfortable support from others, which is quite as absolute as is the right by which any property is held in society? I would bring these inquiries to the test of the original principles of the social compact, and to the generally acknowledged principles of civil justice; and I am willing, as far as legislation is concerned, here to leave decisions respecting the rights of the poor. Let legislators, and the community, in view of these principles, "render to all their due," and there will be a vast

2d. In this class are to be placed those who are born idiots, or who, from causes beyond theircontrol, have fallen into idiocy, and whose immediate relatives are unable to provide for their support. *Their* right also to a provision by others, either public or private, which shall be adequate to a suitable care of them, and to their comfortable maintenance, is as perfect as the right by which any of us hold any one of our possessions. Is it not? And if not, why?

Again. Here are to be placed those, who, though not idiots, are yet either naturally, or through accident, or disease, obviously so deficient in capacity for self-direction, and even for any useful service, that they cannot profitably be employed by others; and, neither possessing the means by which they may be supported, nor connected with near relatives who are able to support them, must be provided for by charity. They are made irremediably poor by this irremediable deficiency of intellectual power; and they are innocent in respect to their poverty, or dependence, because they are innocent in respect to the cause of it. The poverty of some who are

diminution of human suffering, and sin. It is the doctrine of Malthus on this subject, that "we are bound in honor and justice *formally to disclaim the right* of the poor to support;" that they have "*no claim of right* on society for the smallest portion of food, beyond that which their own labor would fairly purchase;" and that, "if this system were pursued, we need be under no apprehensions that the number of persons in extreme want would be beyond the power and will of the benevolent to supply." — If Mr Malthus, or any of his descendants should ever be poor, God grant that their claims may never be left for decision with the receivers of his system of Political Economy! — *Malthus' Essay*, Vol. iii. pp. 179, and 181, 182.

intellectually very deficient, may, indeed, be but partial, because, under the direction of others, they may be made in some degree to contribute to their own subsistence; and, as far as any may be found who can thus compensate society, or their friends for their maintenance, they are remediably poor, and are to be placed in the second class. In regard to these, society has a right to claim, and to appropriate, whatever capacity they may have of contributing to their own maintenance. But in proportion to the intellectual deficiency which has thrown any upon the charity of others, their claims to the interest and support of others are perfect. They may not be innocently disregarded.

Again. There are those of this class who are born cripples, or who are so far maimed, or are so much diseased, or are otherwise so much enfeebled and broken, and without any fault of their own, that they are incapable of providing for their own necessities. They may have quite a sufficiency of intellectual capacity, and the best disposition to keep themselves from all unnecessary dependence on charity. It may even be, and I have known it to be, that this disposition has led to efforts for self-support, which have produced a greatly aggravated and protracted suffering, from the very infirmity which has disabled them. Here, then, likewise, are rightful claims. These claims will indeed generally be asserted with modesty, in proportion to the innocence of the sufferer who may adduce them. But shall we therefore be justified in failing to recognise and to answer them?

Again. There are those, who, having supported themselves by honest labor, but having been unable to make any considerable provision for the future, are gradually

brought to dependence by the increasing infirmities of old age. There are aged men, and aged women of this description, who are worthy of high respect, and of a generous sympathy with their sufferings and wants. They have done what they could do, and they can now do no more. They must be poor till they die. But as they are not blamable for their poverty, they must not be *punished* for it. In other words, they should not be treated as if they were vicious, by refusing any other provision for them than one which will class, and connect them, with the notoriously vicious.

There are indeed those of each of these descriptions of our fellow beings, who are to be found in the affluent, and in the middling classes of society. But whatever may be the dependence of such individuals upon their friends, who are able to provide for them, they are not to be classed among the poor. Their place is with those of the family, or circle, of which they are a part; and no obligation of life is generally, in the abstract at least, felt to be stronger, than that of near relatives, when they are able to do it, willingly and adequately to provide for those, who, by the act of God, are thus disqualified to provide for themselves. And is the obligation less perfect, where a competent provision for individuals such as these cannot be made by their relatives, that it should be made for them by others? The question is a very important one, where, in these cases, lies the responsibility? This question, however, I leave for the present.

The *second* of the classes I have named consists of those, who, like those of the first class, are *innocently poor;* but whose poverty, unlike theirs, to a great ex-

tent at least may be remedied, and for all practical purposes is in every case to be considered as *remediable.* This is also a class of the poor whose claims upon our charity are unequivocal; for, like those of the first class, they, also, are poor "*by the act of God.*" In any measure, therefore, or provision for them, their innocence should be distinctly recognised.

In the first division of this class I would place *the deaf and dumb.** A few years only have passed, since it would have been necessary to have placed this very interesting portion of our fellow beings in the first class which I have named of the poor. But the new language of signs, which is now taught in asylums for the deaf and dumb, has brought them into a new connexion with the speaking part of our race. In these asylums, also, they are taught the arts, and trades, by which they may provide amply, and honorably, for their own subsistence. These institutions, which are worthy of universal patronage, have most deservedly obtained the fostering care of more than one of the governments of our States; for they are direct and efficient means, not only of saving their inmates from pauperism, and thus from a greatly prolonged dependence on public provision for their support, but of a very great advancement of human virtue and happiness.

In the second division of this class we may place *the blind.* It is not a very long while since we should have been compelled to have classed these also among the ir-

* According to the last census, the number of deaf and dumb persons in the United States was, 5,363; and of the blind, 5,444. Boston Daily Advertiser, September 4th, 1832.

remediably poor. But not only has it been ascertained that many, who would once have been considered, and treated, as incurably blind, may be restored to sight, but that by means of an asylum for those whose eyes no skill can open, they, like the deaf and dumb, may be taught the arts and trades, by which they may be secured from an otherwise inevitable dependence for their support upon the bounty of others. There are asylums for the blind in Paris, in Edinburgh, in Liverpool, &c; and I heartily congratulate our fellow citizens upon the prospect we have of a similar institution in our own city. It is not an experiment which is now for the first time making among us, of the practicability, to a very considerable extent, of enabling the blind to provide for their own support by their own labors. It is a well established fact, that there are important mechanic arts which can not only be practised by the blind, but in which the blind may even be instructers of the blind. May God speed the enterprise, which has for its object so excellent a charity! *

* The New England Asylum for the Blind, in Boston, was instituted in February, 1829. It was opened for the reception of pupils about the middle of the last August. Dr S. G. Howe is its superintendent; and he has not only qualified himself for the service by visiting the best asylums for the blind in Europe, but he has with him a very able blind teacher of the blind, who came with him from Paris for the purpose of being an instructor in Boston. There are now four male, and three female pupils in the school; and they have already given very satisfactory evidences of the usefulness of the institution. The permanent fund for its support is now about $3000; and it receives from $2000, to $2500 a year, by a grant of the Legislature, which appropriated to this asylum whatever surplus might annually be uncalled for of the grant made

Another division in this class consists of the *curably insane*, in whom their malady is the result of causes be-

for the education of the deaf and dumb in the State. There are, however, many applicants for this charity, who, from the inadequacy of its means of supporting them, are necessarily excluded from it.

In this connexion, I beg leave to express my sense of the great importance and value of one of the most interesting, and at the same time one of the least patronized, of our institutions for the relief of suffering humanity; I mean, "the Massachusetts Charitable Eye and Ear Infirmary." It is very common with me, as I pass from house to house among the poor, to see the young, as well as the aged, — parents and children, — suffering grievously from affections of the eyes; and, but for this Infirmary, unspeakably aggravated would be their sufferings. But there they go for relief; and there they are actually relieved from diseases, which otherwise might have been of an indefinite continuance; and, in not a few cases, might have brought on a total blindness. It is, in truth, a matter of very great surprise, that after the publication, and distribution of the reports of this institution, in which we are told that about 700 individuals have annually gone to it for the advice and aid of its physicians; that from its commencement, in the autumn of 1824, there have been five thousand three hundred and sixty applicants for this charity; of the comparatively small number of cases in which their diseases have been incurable; of the cases of recovery from total blindness; and, of the large numbers who have there been restored to the use, and the enjoyment of their sight, who might otherwise have suffered from a diseased vision through their lives; — and, when it is considered, that those who are so relieved there are of the class who depend on their daily labors for their daily subsistence; that many of them are females, whose diseases of the eyes have been induced by their severe labors as seamstresses, for the very purpose of escaping a dependence on charity for their support; and that many are the children of the poor, who, by a loss of their sight, may have no refuge from irremediable poverty, but in an asylum for the blind; it is indeed very surprising, in view of these unquestionable facts, that, in our benevolent com-

yond their control. We place in the third class the curably insane, whose insanity is fairly ascribable to their own misconduct. As far as poverty, or a dependence on charity is occasioned by insanity, it is, of course, as remediable as is the disease; and the innocence of any in these cases being admitted, their claims, at least in the view of Christianity, are as unquestionable, as their condition is forlorn. The proportion is indeed so considerable of cases, in which, under modern treatment, the insane are recovered to the enjoyment of reason, that the division of poor to which I here refer has, on this ground, very strong demands upon the sympathy and interest of their fellow beings.* It would seem, indeed, to whatever cause insanity is in any case to be ascribed, that an appeal for kindness in behalf of those who are bereft of reason, and who can be suitably provided for neither by their own, nor by the

munity, this institution should not have obtained an endowment more suited to its unequivocal, and its great deserts. I am indeed glad of an opportunity, if my judgment shall be thought to be of any value on the question of the usefulness, and the claims of our charitable institutions, to call the attention of our opulent and philanthropic citizens to this important, and deserving Infirmary. It has done much, and might do much more, as a means of saving from poverty, as well as for the alleviation of physical suffering. It is, in every view of it, eminently a christian institution. But with its present resources, it can but partially accomplish its objects. It was founded by the philanthropy, and from the smallness of its funds could have failed but for the untiring services, of Dr Reynolds, and Dr Jeffries. For this Infirmary, as well as for an asylum for the blind, it would seem that nothing more could be wanted, than an appeal to christian sympathy and kindness. But they are both worthy of patronage, if viewed only as expedients of political economy.

* I am told by Dr Wyman, physician of the asylum in Charlestown, that three fourths of the insane, under a wise and faithful treatment, may be considered as curable.

resources of those immediately connected with them, must be wholly needless. And, happily, a truly generous provision is making by the civil authorities of our Commonwealth, exclusively for the insane poor. It is, in truth, a most humiliating fact, that many of the insane poor have been sent to the prisons in our State, and have thus been treated as criminals, — on no other grounds than that this was the least expensive method of confining them. Within six years, fiftyeight of this class of sufferers were sent to the House of Correction in our city; and there shut up in cells sufficiently dark, close, unventilated and unwholesome, to make incurable the insanity from which the unhappy subjects of it might have been recovered, perhaps, even by a month or two of the care and kindness which they could have received, if they had been placed in the asylum in Charlestown.*

There is another section of this class of the poor, which has peculiar claims upon the interest of the patriot, the philanthropist, and the Christian. I refer to that large body, the children of the poor, from infancy to 15, or 16 years of age. Here is at once the most abundant, and the most controllable of the sources of poverty and crime; for here may remedies of these evils be most effectually applied, and thus a new principle of life and happiness be imparted to society. Some of these children require, indeed, no especial care beyond that of their natural guardians; for there are no parents more judicious, vigilant

* Let any one go even now to our House of Correction in Leverett Street, and see the insane who are there, and if he be not shocked by the wickedness of this treatment of these unhappy fellow beings, — why, I know not of any form of immorality which is sufficiently hideous to shock him.

and faithful, than are to be found among the poor. But some among them are *orphans*, who have no immediate relatives that are at once disposed, and able, to take the charge of them. Others of them are *the children of widows*, who would, but unaided cannot, bring them under the discipline of virtuous principles. And others of them are the *intellectually and morally neglected children of poor and vicious parents.* Depraved, however, as any of these children may be, they are still, in respect to their poverty, to be accounted *innocent;* for their poverty, or dependence on charity, to a great extent at least, is a necessary consequence of their parentage. And this poverty should in every case be held to be *remediable.* Children of this class are received into our House of Industry only when they are very young, where they are well taught, and are all indented to masters in the country before they reach the age of twelve years. These children, I am told by the master of the House, generally do well. A considerable number of those who are further advanced in years, and in vice, are sent to the House of Reformation, where, after having been well taught, and well trained in the way they should go, they are also indented to masters in the country, till they shall have attained the age of 21 years. The results of this experiment have been favorable beyond even the most sanguine expectations of its friends. But further provision for this class of children is demanded, and it will soon be made, in the establishment of a Farm School, to which we look as one of the wisest and most efficient of the institutions which has been devised by christian benevolence.* Poverty, and crime indeed

* The proposition of a Farm School, for the more extensive rescue and education of idle and morally exposed children in this city, was

threaten us, and come to us, not solely from the ranks of the poor. Many children of the competent, and even of the rich, through early vice and recklessness may become inmates of our prisons, or beggars in our streets. It is well, therefore, and our duty, to look with a strong solicitude to all the exposures of all the classes of the young. But where the young have natural guardians and protectors, who are able to restrain, to guide and to secure them, on them rests the great responsibility of their guidance and security. But where rests responsibility for the orphan poor; for the children of poor widows who cannot govern them; and for those of vicious parents, who

first made by Patrick T. Jackson. The first plan of the school was drawn by his brother, Judge Jackson, who is President of its Board of Directors, and whose zeal and interest in the cause have been among the most important means of its success. The first meeting at which gentlemen were called together to consider the importance of the object was held in the hall of the Tremont Bank, on the 27th of the last January. Subscription papers for funds were prepared, and in a very short time $23,000 were obtained. A strong wish having been expressed, that the House of Reformation might be connected with the proposed Farm School, several conferences were held with a committee of the city government on the subject: and it was not till about the middle of the last month that it was decided, that this union, for the present, at least, is not expedient. As soon as this decision was made known, the Directors of the Farm School proceeded to make a purchase of Thompson's Island, in Dorchester Bay. A row boat passes with ease, in fifteen minutes, from Dorchester Point, to the island; upon which, as soon as may be, the necessary building will be erected. The island contains one hundred and forty acres of land, almost all of which is of an excellent quality. The right of a landing place at Squantum-Point is also secured, from which the distance to the island is but a sail of two or three minutes. Mr Wells, now superintendent of the House of Reformation, has been elected superintendent of the Farm School, and has accepted the appointment.

care not for their virtue, for their condition here, or for their souls hereafter? To me, indeed, it seems that the divine command, "go and save these children," is as plainly addressed to Christians, as is any one lesson that was ever given to us in the providence of God. And, by fidelity to this duty, more, I believe, may be done to lessen the burden of taxation, to give security to property, to advance the general interests of society, and, above all, to accomplish the moral objects of Christianity in the temporal and spiritual salvation of men, than by any other means within the scope of human exertions.

To this class belong also those, who, being generally able, while they have health, to provide for their daily wants, but unable to meet any extraordinary expenses, are occasionally and temporarily reduced to a dependence on charity by sickness;— it may be their own, or of their children. The loss also of a husband and father, who has provided comfortably for his family, but who had made, and could make, no provision for them beyond the time of his death, may bring a virtuous family to temporary poverty. And, beside these, there are those who must have constant employment to enable them to pay their rent, and to obtain the necessaries of life. Such for example are those, and they are not few, who make coarse shirts and pantaloons for eight or ten cents each, and who, by severe labor, cannot earn more than sixteen or twenty cents a day. But their supply of work occasionally fails; and sometimes for four, and five, and six weeks, they can hardly find enough to earn half, or a third of that sum. This failure of supply must therefore bring them for a time to a dependence on charity. "He who lives upon the wages of daily labor, and can only live

upon those wages, without laying up store for tomorrow, is spending his capital; and a time must come when it will fail." This is not unfrequently a condition of many very deserving families; and of families, too, whose rent must be paid to the last cent, and whose children must be fed. If this temporary dependence cannot be met, and their poverty remedied, by a supply of work, it must be met by charity. Is charity here withheld? The alternative is, extreme suffering from want; or, the scarcely smaller suffering from the embarrassment of debt, which will not only sink them deeper into dependence, but expose them even to sorer, and far more dreadful evils. Some experience is indeed required for a discrimination of character and condition in the cases of those, who plead a want of employment as the cause of their poverty; for there are those who would have employment, but for their inefficiency, or indolence; and who are willing, as far as they can, to live upon the charity and the industry of others. But deception upon this subject cannot long be practised upon those, whose business it is to visit, and to know the poor, and who know how to avail themselves of the lessons of their own experience. And no one who knows how to make this distinction, will think lightly of the wants of the industrious and virtuous poor, who would, but from causes beyond their control cannot, provide for their absolute necessities. No one can understand their condition without strong feelings, not only of sympathy, but of obligation, if he possesses the means, of ministering to their relief and comfort.

The *third* class of the poor to which I would call your attention, consists of those whose poverty, though imme-

diately *attributable to vice*, is yet *remediable*. This class also contains several divisions.

1st. Here I would place the young, who are of an age to earn enough for their own support, and who have physical ability to make this provision for themselves, but who have learned to prefer idleness, and vagrancy, and dissipation, and dishonesty, to regular and useful employment. These juvenile delinquents are not always the children of poor parents; and, where they are not, it may be thought that we should not class them with the poor. But even those of them whose parents are not poor, are in truth living, and, unchecked, will continue to live, upon the industry and resources of others; or, even if some of them should ultimately inherit property, they will, if left to themselves, go on in their career of vice, till they either sink into the abjectness of irremediable poverty, or into the deeper debasement of a life of recklessness and crime. But every juvenile delinquent, if already a pauper, may be rescued from pauperism; and if only on the verge of the gulf, may be saved from falling into it, and made a useful, respectable, and happy member of the community. It is believed that the Farm School, in the establishment of which there will be no further unnecessary delay, will offer facilities and advantages to the parents and friends of disobedient children, which could hardly be given by any merely municipal institution.

2d. Here, likewise, I would place the adult idler, who is *able*, but *unwilling to work*. His ability is the resource God has given him; and if he fail to avail himself of this resource, when he may have employment, society has a right to claim, and to have, from this very resource, a remuneration for all which it may contribute for the sup-

port of the able bodied idler. Through this ability, his poverty is remediable.

Again. There are those who are beginning to be poor through intemperance, with whom, however, intemperance has not yet become an inveterate habit. Their poverty is remediable, because, by wise measures, kindly and perseveringly pursued, they may be recovered from intemperance. Before they were intemperate, they were not indisposed to labor; and, even now, they labor perhaps when they can. But their loss of character brings with it some loss of opportunities of employment; and they are sometimes unfitted for employment, when, if they had been temperate, they might have obtained it. They become as distrustful of themselves, as others are of them. Difficulties and embarrassments come upon them, which they have not energy to bear. They contract debts, which they have no means of paying. And *trouble, trouble,* as they say, drives them to recklessness, and to habitual intoxication. But no one is at once, or suddenly, an habitual drunkard; and he who is an habitual, and irreclaimable drunkard, and therefore irremediably poor, had he early been an object of christian sympathy, and interest, by well directed efforts might have been recovered to temperance, and saved from pauperism, and perhaps from crime and wretchedness.

Again. I would form a division in this class of the thriftless, and the improvident. There are those of this character, who are neither idle, nor intemperate. But they have no notion of a wise and economical appropriation of what they earn to the true necessities of their condition. They have never been instructed in the principles of a wise economy; and they are poor, only because

they are thriftless, and in their way, extravagant. One may expend all for food; and another, all for dress, or for some other equally foolish indulgence. Masters and mistresses of families may do much for the prevention of poverty from these sources, and make themselves great benefactors to their domestics, by faithfully instructing those who live with them in this relation, in the rules and habits of personal and domestic economy; by encouraging them, instead of squandering their wages, to deposit them for accumulation and interest in the Savings Bank;* and, by calling forth, and strengthening in them, a sense of duty in regard to the future, — their future support and comfort in life, — train them to the sen-

*The Savings Bank in this city was incorporated in December, 1816. Since that time, the depositors in it have been 21,260; and the amount of deposits $3,347,533. A number of gentlemen, in succession, have gratuitously given much time to the direction of its concerns. But it was begun, and has principally been sustained, by the energy and untiring benevolence of James Savage, — a name which needs no titles. I know, indeed, that nothing which I can say will add anything to the estimation in which this gentleman is held among us, as a benefactor of our city. But my opportunities have been greater than those of most of our fellow citizens to know the extent of his labors, and the worth of his services in this cause; and I know that his good fame has been well earned, and that it will wear well. When the causes of pauperism and crime, and the principles and means of their prevention, shall have obtained a wider interest, and shall be better understood among us, the value of the institution for which we are so much indebted to Mr Savage will be even more generally, and strongly felt, than it now is. Nor do I hesitate to say, that he will deserve to be held in grateful remembrance by succeeding generations in our city, till the pile of granite which has been reared for our New Savings Bank shall have crumbled into dust.

timents and habits, which will do much to secure for them a competency, under any but extraordinary exigencies of their life. Nor will the ministry for the poor be unfitly employed in teaching this economy from house to house. Nor will any one, be he who he may, have conferred a small benefit either on the individual, or on society, who has impressed wise, prudential maxims on any mind, which might not otherwise have learned them; and by the influence he has thus exerted, has saved a fellow being from the sufferings, and the exposures, of a life of thriftlessness and poverty.

The *fourth* of the classes into which I would divide the poor consists of those, whose poverty is *irremediable*, and is to be *ascribed to their own misconduct.*

In the first division of this class I would place *the irrecoverably intemperate.*

I have indeed stated, as a leading principle of my ministry, that human nature, or in other words a fellow being, whatever may have been his transgressions, and whatever may be his character, is never to be given up as irretrievably lost. The number, however, is not inconsiderable of those, in whom the springs of their moral being seem to be so far enfeebled, or even worn out, by long continued vicious indulgence, — for example, by the habitual and almost unrestrained intemperance of many years, — that they are no longer to be trusted within the circle of the exposures, under the power of which they have most clearly proved themselves unable to maintain a resolution of abstinence and virtue. They are not to be morally given up, as utterly beyond hope, because there are yet in them moral elements, of which, under a change of circumstances in regard to them, we may

avail ourselves to do much for their moral restoration. But they must be brought under other external influences than those under which they have lived, in order to their due preparation for the excitement, and exercise of the moral power, which still remains to them. They are not in a condition to be trusted with freedom, and therefore should not have it. At least, they should be restrained, till it is believed by those who are competent to a judgment upon the subject, that a trial of liberty may be allowed to them. I believe without a doubt, that if an asylum should be instituted for the intemperate, by a confinement in which they should be made to feel, that, vicious as they have been, and are, still they are not confounded in public estimation with profligates and thieves; in which every inmate, as far as may be practicable, should work at the trade in which he has been educated, and in which his earnings would be greatest; in which his confinement should be long enough to give a reasonable hope that a change of moral habits, as well as of dispositions, has been acquired; and in which the earnings of every inmate, above the sum necessary for his own support in the institution, should be appropriated, if need be, for the support and comfort of his family; I have, I repeat, no doubt that such an asylum would be a means of a complete moral recovery of very many, who would otherwise be irrecoverably intemperate, poor, and miserable. I feel as much abhorrence of intemperance as is felt by any one. But I have lived in a connexion so long, and intimate, with this class of our fellow beings, that I well know, that desperate, self-abandoned, and even utterly irrecoverable as some may be, many of them have claims upon universal sympathy, and commiseration, as strong even as those of any class

of human sufferers. I have seen them weeping bitterly under convictions of the guilt and misery to which their intemperance has brought them; and I believe that, for the time, they were sincerely resolved to avail themselves of the means of maintaining a life of future sobriety. I believe their sincerity of purpose, because I have known it to be followed out by a total abstinence from intoxicating spirits for a month, or for six weeks, or even for three months. But the deeply seated disease, moral as well as physical, which has been induced by years of intemperate indulgence, and which has seemed to have been, — and may it not actually have been? — controlled in its power for a time by the strong moral exercises of their minds, has again renewed its attacks; and, when these moral sensibilities have been less strong, and these moral exercises less active than they were, or, it may be, have been suspended, the demon has returned, as it would sometimes seem, with a seven-fold power; and each last state of the poor victim is, perhaps, worse than that which preceded it. While, therefore, I would never cease from endeavors to reclaim every intemperate individual, to whom it may be my privilege to extend the offices of the christian ministry, I am yet compelled to form from the habitually inebriate, a division of the irremediably poor. For, even though many, and most of them, by the means I have suggested should be wholly recovered to temperance, yet if the physical system be so far diseased, and broken down, by their previous habits, that they are not again to be capable of labor, they must, if they have depended on their daily labors for their daily bread, be irremediably poor; or in other words, dependent on chari-

ty during the remainder of their lives. In our new House of Correction, now in progress, in which classifications may be made of its inmates; in which the principle of solitary confinement at night will be adopted, and I hope also, lengthened terms of confinement, and a wise provision for religious and moral instruction, during which a fair trial at least may be made of the practicability of establishing new habits, something may be done to meet the want of an asylum for the intemperate; and no inconsiderable influence exerted for the reformation of this, and of other classes of its inmates. Our old House of Correction, to the reproach of our city, has been too long tolerated among us. I have had ample opportunity to know its character, and influences; and I have no doubt whether it has greatly ministered to the increase of intemperance, and of profligacy among us. Should the intemperate, in our new institution, be wholly separated, as they ought to be, from other classes of offenders within it, and be brought under the moral discipline under which they may be brought there, I believe that the irremediably poor of their number will be small, compared with what it now is. And, should society avail itself of its rightful power, in regard to the existing causes of this evil, a very large proportion of the pauperism by which our fellow beings are debased would be prevented, and an incalculable amount added to human virtue and happiness.

2dly. Here, too, I would place the *inveterately profligate* who fall into poverty.

There is indeed much less ground for a hope of the recovery of those who are far gone in profligacy, than of

those in any other class either of civil, or moral offenders. Of profligacy, says Burns,

> "I waive the quantum of the sin,
> The hazard of concealing;
> But, och! it *hardens a' within,*
> *And petrifies the feeling.*"

And, truly, it does *petrify* all the best sensibilities of our common nature. It debases man more than any other sin. But it debases woman far more than man. And as the number is large of those, who, by reason of their profligacy, are unable to obtain the means of their support by any honest and honorable employment; and, failing of support by this cause, who have no alternative but to beg, or to steal, or to live on in their sin; the moral well being of the community is deeply concerned in the inquiry, how shall they live? or, what disposition shall be made of them? Many of them, if rescued in an early stage of their transgression, and committed for a few years to the kindly care of faithful and competent teachers, might be saved from falling into poverty, or dependence. But when they cannot be made to earn their subsistence; — and this is the case of but too many of them, — they are, and must be treated as irremediably poor.

Here, in fine, I would place all those, whose poverty is a consequence of their vices, and whose vices have reduced them to a permanent inability for self-support. There is a poverty, which is immediately attributable to insanity; and, going one step farther back, to vice, the cause of the insanity. There are also sore bodily diseases, which induce a permanent incapacity for labor, in those

who have depended for their support upon their daily earnings, which are most clearly to be attributed to their violations of the laws of God, and of man. It is very questionable, how far any of the individuals of this division should be left at liberty, to live where, and as they will. They are, however, as far as they retain moral faculties, still to be treated as moral beings, and therefore to be brought under the most favorable moral influences. This is not less the dictate of Christian humanity, than it is that they should still be recognised as beings partaking of the physical wants which are inseparable from our common nature. I would not, indeed, that they should be considered as convicts, and their place of confinement as a prison. But I would that we should neither discourage the exertions of the virtuous for self-support, by an exercise of charity which shall give it the operation of a bounty upon vice; nor encourage the vicious in their debasement, by showing them that they may safely continue in it, and still look with confidence for equal favor at last, as if they had resolutely maintained their virtue.

In view of this classification of the poor, I think it will be obvious, 1st, that all, in each of the divisions of the first class, — that is, that the incurably insane, the idiot, and the deficient in capacity for self-direction and self-support, — have as strong and defensible a *claim* for their support upon those who have the means of aiding and supporting them, as he who has inherited, or has earned property, has by law, and common consent, a claim upon such property. The single fact, that they are poor without any fault of their own, con-

sidered in connexion with the acknowledged principle of law, that "the act of God injures no man," establishes their rightful claim to support by others; their absolute right and claim, 1st, upon their near relatives; and 2dly, upon the community, where there are no relatives who may support them. I attach importance to this doctrine, because, if admitted, — and in this view of it I think that it hardly admits of dispute, — it settles a great and primary question respecting large numbers of the poor. It places the duty of making a comfortable provision for the irremediably, and innocently poor, upon its true foundation; that of unequivocal *right*, and *justice*. I know not, indeed, of a more palpable violation of justice, and of absolute right, in any of the transactions which human laws have declared to be criminal, than is the act of confounding any of these innocent sufferers with criminals, by imprisoning them with criminals. This, however, has been done, and is still done, both in this city, and in other parts of our Commonwealth. Would that I could make any exposition of this evil, which would excite all in our State and country to demand, till they had obtained, its perfect remedy!

In view also of the second of these classes of the poor, that is, of the deaf and dumb, the blind, the curably insane, children who cannot be provided for by their parents, or near relatives, and all, in fine, who, without any fault on their own part, are necessarily and temporarily poor, I would ask, if their *right* likewise to the care and support of others, in proportion to, and during the time of their inability, be not as perfect as is the right of those of the first class? They are *innocent*, as far as respects

their poverty. This is an elementary consideration which is not to be lost sight of. If, then, they have no relatives who are able to take the charge of them, or if adequate provision be not made for them by private charity, is not the State, or the Government of the State, bound to stand to them in the relation of a parent, to assume this charge, and to be faithful to the duties implied in it? Here, indeed, is not only implied a limitation of the time during which the individuals of this class may *claim* the protection and support of society; but, a *right* also on the part of society, which is quite as absolute as this claim, to avail itself of any capacities which any of these individuals may have for self-support, under the direction of others. Nay, society will have a perfect right, if they shall ever be able to render it, to demand of these individuals a compensation for what it may have done for them. But it cannot rightfully, or innocently, disregard their claims. These claims are as clearly to be inferred from the elementary principles of common law, as they are from those of humanity, and of religion.

In respect to those of the third and fourth classes, the ground of appeal to charity is changed. There are, indeed, rights and claims, which can never be lost. The greatest offender against the laws either of God, or man, may justly claim from his fellow man exemption from suffering, or loss, any further than suffering or loss on his part is essential for the security of the rights of others. If it can be shown of any one, that the forfeit of his life is essential for the security of the lives of others, his life is then justly forfeited, and may be taken. But in no other case may it justly be taken by man. If any one may be so confined, whatever may have been his crime, that no

danger is to be apprehended from him, he has, as far as man is concerned, a perfect right to his life. This, I think, should be an admitted principle of criminal jurisprudence. There are therefore rights and claims of the vicious, as well as of the virtuous poor. But here, also, are as definable rights and claims of society. If the support of any, by society, is demanded, or becomes necessary, while the individuals claiming it have ability, under the superintendence of others, by any labors to contribute to their own support, the right of society is perfect to claim, and to enforce this labor. Government therefore has the right, and it is its duty, to establish Work-Houses, Houses of Correction, and State Prisons; and to require the labors of the inmates of these institutions for their own support. Let the idle, then, the drunkard, the dishonest, the profligate, and other classes of offenders against the laws, be recognised as enemies of society. Let society provide for its own security by their confinement; and let it demand, as it rightly may, the products that may be obtained from their industry, as a remuneration for the charge of them. But, while it punishes them, let *their correction*, and not *its revenge*, be the object of this confinement, and of this punishment; let a just discrimination be made between the classes of offenders; and, let the claims of mere misfortune, and of innocent inability, be acknowledged with a free and generous sympathy. A recognition of these principles, I believe, would do much to lessen the amount of want, and crime, and misery, and to advance the security and happiness of society.

I beg leave, in addition, yet a moment longer, to call your attention to two of the divisions which are here made of the poor. I refer, 1st, to the morally exposed

children, who, if left to go on in vagrancy and vice, it is almost certain will fall into pauperism and crime, or both; and, 2dly, to the intemperate; and in connexion with these, to the facilities and excitements to intemperance, which are so far at least authorized, as to be licensed by our laws.

I have placed the children to whom I here refer in the second and third classes of the poor. And I have spoken of their *claims* upon public and private interest for provision for their support. They have, however, quite as strong a claim to special care for their moral security. I am solicitous for no object more than for this regard, and provision for this class of the young; for, I repeat, there are no means by which so much may be done, as by these, for the prevention of pauperism and crime, and all their attendant personal and social evils. A large provision is indeed made by our city, and throughout New England, for the support of free schools. This is well. The laws which require, and provide for the support of these schools, are a recognition, on the part of the legislature, of the just claims of children, and of the duty of government in regard to them. But is the law which establishes these schools commensurate with the claims of those for whom they are instituted? It is, indeed, as far as these schools are commensurate with those actual necessities of children, without a provision for which there is neither security for themselves, nor for the society in which they may live. In other words, they fairly satisfy the claims of those children, who need not any further care for their education, except on the part of their natural guardians. But there are children in our own community, and in many other communities, who are at an

age at which they should be in some school, but are not in any; who are idlers and vagrants; who are living without moral restraint; and are every day advancing as rapidly in the vicious education which they are receiving not only in the streets, and in their haunts, but in their very homes, as the most industrious children in our schools, and the best morally taught at home, are advancing in useful knowledge, and in virtue. And, it should be understood, there are children also in our schools, who, by the vicious associations in which they are living, either from the indisposition, or the inability of their parents to restrain them, are in a daily and regular training for a vicious, a mischievous, and a miserable life. Where, then, lies the responsibility for these children? I pray for a calm and serious attention to this inquiry. Is it answered, first, without doubt, with their parents, or their other near relations? True. But suppose that they have not parents, or near relatives; or, if they have, that these parents or relatives are unequal to the charge, or are faithless to it. Is there then no further responsibility for them? Does society *owe*, — I mean literally, does society— owe them no further care, and no other provision for their moral safety and well being? Or, if this inquiry be deemed exceptionable, I will ask, has society no direct claim upon them for its own security, and no corresponding duties towards them, which it may not wisely disregard? This question, I am happy to say, has been answered by our city government, in the ordinance which has established the House of Reformation at South Boston. And it has received as distinct a reply from our community, in the measures which are in train for the institution of a Farm School, the great design of which

is, a provision for the moral education, as extensive and complete as it may be, of all the children in our city, whose moral exposures are believed to require peculiar care, at once for their own virtue and happiness, and for the well being of the community. Our city has no greater benefactors than the men, who, by these, and other means, are doing what may be done to close the very springs of pauperism and crime among us. The Savings Bank, the House of Reformation, and the Farm School, are among the noblest of human devices for human good. They are preëminently christian institutions, because they are exclusively the growth of christian sentiments of humanity and duty; because they meet a class of the claims of humanity, which Christianity distinctly recognises. Let their character and influence, then, be justly estimated, and they will never want either friends or patrons. Let them be duly supported, and cherished, and, with the increase of our population, we shall have to diminish, rather than increase our provisions for abject poverty and crime. Happy will be the society, in which great moral preventives shall supersede the necessity of legal coercion, for the security and happiness of its members! The experiment of the tendencies of force and of fear, as the great instruments for the government and security of society, has been continued quite long enough to satisfy every fair mind. Our country, at least, is in a favorable condition for a fair trial of the efficacy of an appeal to, and a reliance upon, the higher principles of human nature. And if proper measures shall be taken to call forth these principles, and to secure their predominance, I have no fear for the result. To the extent to which the trial has been carried, we have the most satisfactory evi-

dence of its happy results; and our community can be blessed by nothing more, which God has placed within the power of man, than by the widest possible extension of this good among us.

We may, however, do all that can be done for the moral education of the young, and yet, to a very painful extent, be expending our strength for nought, as long as our streets are everywhere holding out facilities and excitements to intemperance, under the very sanction of the law. Intemperance, under these circumstances, will increase, and with it the number of poor, and of criminals. Where, then, I would here also ask, lies the responsibility for these evils?

The Legislature assumes the right to regulate the sale of ardent spirits. This assumption is founded in the right, which is conceded to government, of controlling those operations of individuals, an unrestricted allowance of which is incompatible with the general welfare; as the power to require the erection and maintenance of Work-Houses, Houses of Correction, County Jails and State Prisons, is founded, in like manner, upon the right which is also conceded to government, of depriving of their liberty, and otherwise of punishing those, whom its other restrictive enactments are insufficient to deter from idleness, vagrancy and crime. And yet, by the very terms on which it offers to license the keeping of dram-shops, and the freest sale of the substances which it recognises, in their abuse, to be a cause, and of which we have the evidence everywhere around us, that they are among the most active and influential of the causes, of abject pauperism and crime, it does all which it can well do to legalize that, which it acknowledges to be inconsistent with the public safety; and, thus to secure a perpet-

ual increase of the inmates of those very institutions, a principal demand for which grows out of the facilities and excitements which dram-shops and bar-rooms offer to intemperance, lawlessness, and every civil and moral offence. Now I would say, that government either has the right and the power to restrict the sale of these spirits, or it has not. If it have not the right, let the assumption of it be relinquished ; and let every one, in this respect, do what he will, without asking permission, and purchasing the privilege to do it. But if it have the right and power, I would ask, what is the extent of that right and power ? Is it limited to acts which do not, and which it is known cannot, and will not, impose the smallest possible restraint upon the sale of these spirits ? Why, then, waste time and money in laboriously framing and modifying legislative enactments, which not only go for nothing in the cause either of private virtue, or of public security, but which themselves virtually sanction debasement and crime, and, indirectly call up any sentiment in the public mind respecting other legal restraints, than that of respect, and a sense of the importance of regarding them ? I would appeal to Legislators, and to our whole community, on this great subject. If government have the power to restrict the sale of these spirits, except on the conditions on which it shall see fit to license their sale, it must then have the power to impose conditions, which shall be effectual to the restraint of their sale. This seems to be self-evident. And if they have the power to impose these conditions, where lies the responsibility for the six or seven hundred dram-shops in our city ; and for the facility, in every village in our Commonwealth, of obtaining a gallon of these spirits for the small cost of forty

cents? Either power is here assumed without right, or there is a very sorry trifling, in our legislation upon this subject, with right, and power, and responsibility. Much has indeed been done in the cause of temperance, and much more I trust is to be effected, through an enlightened public opinion. But our halls of legislation have yet done nothing in this good work. Have they, however, nothing to do in it? And, have they not all the requisite power to do much in it; and thus more, perhaps, than by any other single restrictive right and power which they possess, to secure order, and happiness, property, liberty and life? *

* We have recently seen not only our city government, but our public at large, awake to the duty of doing all that could be done for security against the disease, of the ravages of which we have heard so much in the other cities and nations of the world. And when it was found impracticable to prevent its irruption, the most prompt and energetic measures were taken to arrest its progress, by removing the causes by which it was supposed that it might have been generated. But is the *intemperance* which prevails in our city, in our commonwealth and our country, a smaller, or is it an incomparably greater evil, than the cholera? And if equal solicitude were felt by the government of our city, and state, and nation, and a proportionally united and resolute effort were made by the temperate in our land, for the absolute suppression of intemperance, as has been made in Boston for protection from the cholera, how long would intemperance continue to be as it is among us? May God open our eyes to the true character of evils, and unite our hearts in the cause of correcting, and of preventing them!

"In solemn truth, there is nothing of more serious consideration, nor which more loudly calls for a remedy, than the evil now complained against," — drunkenness. "For what can be more worthy the care of the Legislature, than to preserve the morals, the innocence, the health, strength and lives of a great part, — I will repeat, the most useful part, — of the people? So far am I, in my opinion, from representing this in too serious, or too strong a light,

In my last Report I expressed "my strong desire, that some one should take my place in this ministry, to whom I might act as an assistant, and on whom might devolve the whole duties of the chapel." That desire has been accomplished. My young friend, Mr Charles F. Barnard, has entered upon the service in the fulness of its spirit; and I look with great confidence and happiness to the results of his labors. You will join with me in the fervent prayer, that he may be an instrument of extending widely among us a christian sense of human relations; of doing much to ameliorate condition through the improvement of character; and thus, of advancing the cause and kingdom of Christ. Of the patrons of this ministry, I entreat for him a full portion of the sympathy and aid, which have been so generously accorded to myself.

A very few words more, and I have done.

"Men have outgrown the other institutions of that period when Christianity appeared; its philosophy, its modes of warfare, its policy, its public and private economy. But

that I can find no words, or metaphor, adequate to my ideas on this subject. The first invention of this diabolical liquor may be compared to the poisoner of a fountain, whence a large city was to derive its waters; the highest crime, it has been thought, of which human nature is capable; a degree of villany, indeed, of which I cannot recollect any example. But, surely, if such was ever practised, the governors of that city would not be thought blameless, did they not endeavor, to the utmost, to withhold the citizens from drinking the poisonous draught. And, if such a general thirst after it prevailed, as we are told possessed the people of Athens at the time of the plague, when, as Thucydides says, they *ran into the wells*, being constantly possessed by an inexhausted thirst, what could justify the not effectually *cutting off all the aqueducts, by which the poison was dispersed among the people?*"—"*Causes of the Increase of Robbers.*" *Fielding's Works. Vol. x. pp.* 365, 6.

Christianity has never shrunk as intellect has opened, but has kept in advance of men's faculties, and has unfolded nobler views, in proportion as they have ascended." * Let these nobler views, then, engage the thought and interest of those who may, if they will, do much to bring the institutions of our city far nearer than they have yet been brought to the purity of character, and to the happiness in their results, which Christian principles only will impart and secure to them. There is too much of a disposition among us to overlook the great interests which are comprehended in our schools, our penitentaries, and our public charities. But is it not, comparatively, a matter of very light concern, whether a few thousand dollars more or less shall annually be appropriated for the clearing of sewers, or the widening of streets; or, whether a few dozens or scores, more or less, shall annually be added to, or taken from, the number of our paupers and criminals? Whence, then, is it, that there is among us so many, from whom an exalted public spirit might have been expected, so much disregard of our institutions for education, and for penal and charitable purposes? These institutions are now young; and we may prune them, and engraft upon them, with a confidence that they will reward us with the genuine fruits of justice, and of benevolence. But let them become entangled in their growth, and acquire obduracy and stubbornness from time, and the evils connected with them may be irremediable. I beseech, then, the intelligent and moral among us, to look carefully to the character, the condition and prospects of those institutions, which they are taxed to support, and which will bring increasing weal,

* Channing's Discourses, Reviews and Miscellanies. p. 35

or wo, upon themselves, and their descendants. To whom shall the charge of these institutions be committed? This is an inquiry of solemn import to the well being of our community; and every elector answers this inquiry for himself, by the vote which he casts into the ballot box. And, does not he incur a fearful responsibility, who, professing to comprehend the value of these institutions, does not give his vote in our public elections; and thus withholds his suffrage from those, to whom a little reflection would make him even solicitous that these great interests should be entrusted?

I have had no interruption in my ministry for the last six months from ill health; and I look back to this term with equal gratitude and happiness, as to any equal portion of the time which I have passed in this service. I trust that this ministry may now be considered as established among us. May it go on increasing in its beneficial results, and commending itself alike to the rich and the poor. It must, and it will, if it shall be wisely conducted, be one of the most important of the instruments which can be employed, in cities at least, to extend most wisely the purifying and saving influences of Christianity, and to advance social order, security and happiness.

Respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

November 5, 1832.

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ELEVENTH SEMIANNUAL REPORT,

AS A

MINISTER AT LARGE IN BOSTON.

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REPORT.

To the Executive Committee of the

AMERICAN UNITARIAN ASSOCIATION.

GENTLEMEN, — On the 29th of February, 1832, a commission was appointed by our House of Representatives, 'to prepare, digest, and report to the next Legislature, such modifications, or changes in the pauper system of the Commonwealth, as they may deem expedient; to appoint an agent to visit the principal establishments in the Commonwealth and elsewhere, for the public charge and support of the poor; to collect the statistics of these institutions, and to report the facts so obtained to the Commissioners.' I was one of the Commissioners for these objects; and, at the request of the gentlemen associated with me, undertook the agency here referred to. By causes, however, which at the time I thought sufficient, the business of this agency was delayed till late in the last year. I was thus prevented from visiting many towns in the Commonwealth, which it had been my intention to visit for the above-named purposes, and had no leisure left to me for going beyond the bounds of our own State. Nor was this all. A Report was to be made to the Legislature at as early a day as possible

in its last session; and a meeting of the commissioners, for an examination of the facts I had collected, could not be obtained till very near the time when their Report must be presented. On me, therefore, devolved as well the work of writing the Report, as of preparing the statements and tables which are appended to it. I refer to these circumstances, because I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of adverting again to some of the topics of that Report. The measures proposed in it are referred to the next meeting of the Legislature; and the Report, with a bill for carrying these measures into operation, has been sent to every town in the Commonwealth, that the whole subject may be fairly brought before the whole people. It is a subject which has strong claims to very serious attention, for it involves great interests, both pecuniary and moral. Assured, however, as I am, of the correctness of the principles assumed in that Report, and aware of the very defective manner in which they are there developed, I am glad of an opportunity to recur to them; and happy indeed shall I be, if I may thus do anything to lead to better provisions than have yet been made among us for the charge and support of the poor, and for the remedy and prevention of pauperism and crime.

The leading principles to which I would call your attention are, that provisions for the poor are the proper objects, not of legal enactment, but of christian humanity and charity; — that this humanity and charity, if left unfettered by legal enactments, are sufficient for the security of the best provisions which can be made for all the classes of the indigent and necessitous; — and, that the result of interpositions of human laws to secure obedience to the moral law of charity, ever has been,

and is, an increased, and even frightfully increasing extent of the beggary and crime, which these laws have been intended to remedy. The first question which here naturally arises, is, what are the facts in the case? To facts, then, let us appeal.

The influence which poor-laws have exerted upon pauperism in England, is, I well know, a question upon which her statesmen and philanthropists have held, and still hold, very different opinions. Nor is it to be doubted that other causes than poor-laws have alone produced an equal, or a greater pauperism elsewhere. The pauperism of Ireland, for example, where there are no poor-laws, is even far more extensive and dreadful than that of England. But, on this subject, no fair comparison can be instituted between England and Ireland. With the exception of Poland, Ireland has been, and is, the most cruelly oppressed country in Christendom; and, in her oppressions, which I need not enumerate, we have causes sufficient to account for any conceivable want, and degradation, and wretchedness, to which the population there, or any where, could be reduced. Not so is it with pauperism in England. There it has grown with the very progress of liberty; and, even under circumstances of the greatest prosperity in all the departments of human enterprise. There, too, it has called forth an unexampled voluntary assessment for its relief; and yet it has grown under the combined pressure of these measures for keeping it down. How, then, is this fact to be accounted for? Let me refer you, for a moment, to the history of English Poor-Laws, and I think you will be satisfied that they are, in part at least, accountable for the extent and miseries of English pauperism.

The earliest legislative act respecting the poor in England, of which I have seen any notice, is that of the twenty-third of Edward III., in 1349. By this act, 'persons were declared guilty of an offence in relieving beggars able to work.' A very different measure followed in the twelfth of Richard II., 1388. It was then 'directed that *the ordinary, or clergy of the district*, should receive collections, and distribute them to the impotent poor.' This is the first legal requisition for the support of the poor of which I have any knowledge; and 'the practice' under it, it is said, 'was, that if any person did not contribute charitable alms for the poor, he was summoned before the ordinary, who reproved him. If he was contumacious, he was summoned before the Ecclesiastical Court, and might be excommunicated; and then served with a Bishop's, or Chancery writ, which confiscated the whole of his effects, and imprisoned him for life.' How far this law secured an abundance of *alms* for the poor, I know not. That it could not have excited charity in the heart, or have led to the contribution of 'charitable alms,' will, I think, be most manifest to every one. That it did not lessen the number, or improve the character of the poor, is intimated by the enactment 'in 1495, the eleventh of Henry VII.,' by which 'vagabonds were to be put into the stocks for three days and nights, and to be fed upon bread and water; and any person who should relieve them with food was to forfeit twelve pence, (three shillings).' These vagabonds were the able-bodied beggars of the time; and the punishment here inflicted upon beggary implies that the evil had become a greatly increased one, and that it was thought to have demanded a very strong remedy. 'Eight years afterwards, these laws were confirmed.' But 'in 1535,' a new principle was

adopted. In that year, three hundred and seventysix of the smaller monasteries were suppressed by Henry VIII.; and others were confiscated by him in subsequent years. Many who had received relief, or support in these institutions, were thus compelled to seek for aid, or for subsistence elsewhere. It was therefore 'enacted that all governors of shires, cities, hundreds, hamlets, and parishes, should make provision for the poor by receiving charitable alms, so that no poor person should go a begging. Thus the relieving of the poor was taken from the ecclesiastical, and given to the civil power. Nor was this the only extraordinary provision in this case. 'Persons making "open dole," or giving money in alms otherwise than to the poor boxes in each parish, were to forfeit ten times the value.' Thus, all almsgiving, except through the parish poor boxes, was not only forbidden; but every act of free charity was declared by the law to be criminal, or at least punishable, in proportion to its approximation to the liberality of Christian benevolence. I know not what was the extent of poverty at that time in England. But, allowing for great exaggeration in the statement, it must have been fearfully extensive and aggravated, since we are told, that, 'during the reign of Henry VIII., a period of thirtyseven years, and when the population was scarcely more than a third of its present number, seventytwo thousand persons were executed for theft and robbery, and, that the prisoners for debt and crime amounted at one time to sixty thousand persons. Sturdy beggars, for the first offence, were whipt. On a second conviction, they lost an ear. And on the third, they were executed as felons. In the succeeding reign, the Protector Somerset, though remarkable for his popularity, seemed determined, by direct force and terror, to extirpat-

vagabonds. The first act of his administration declared, that if any person shall apprehend a runagate, who had lived disorderly for three days, and shall take him before two justices, the vagrant was to be branded with the letter V, and was to be adjudged a slave to the person who had apprehended him for two years. This person might also beat, chain, and put the vagrant to labor never so vile, and might feed him upon bread and water, and refuse him meat. If the vagrant should absent himself fourteen days, he was to be branded on the cheek with the letter S, (slave) and was to be a slave forever. If he ran away a second time, he was to be executed. For the honor of human nature, this law continued in operation but two years.' But it not only proves the desperate state of the country, but intimates much, I think, to excite suspicion of the moral tendencies of poor laws. At least, it goes far to show, that poor laws had contributed nothing to the suppression of pauperism. 'In 1563, the 5th of Elizabeth, an act was passed to appoint collectors of voluntary contributions, who should also distribute them weekly, so that none should sit a begging. If any parishioner obstinately refused to pay reasonably for the relief of the poor, the justices were empowered to tax him a reasonable weekly sum; upon his refusal to pay which, he was to be imprisoned. And if any parish had more impotent poor than it was able to maintain, the justices were empowered to license them to beg in the hundreds of their country. At length, after other enactments for the regulation of assessments for the poor, and for the appointment of overseers, the last great act of Elizabeth's life was the pauper law of the 43d of her reign,' which has since been the basis of the poor laws of England. This law

is immensely in advance of all that had preceded it upon the subject. It was as wise, perhaps, as a law could have been, the object of which was, a legal provision for the poor. Many are the revisions under which it has passed during the last two hundred years, and by none of them has it been improved. The population of England, at the time of the passage of this law, is estimated to have been between four and a half, and five millions. The first assessment, in 1601, for carrying it into effect, — that is, for the relief of the impotent poor, and for setting the poor to work, — was £200,000. In the year 1700, when the population was about five and a half millions, the poor rates had increased to £1,000,000. And now they are advanced to nearly £8,000,000, or $35,000,000 ; with a beggary as importunate as want and desperation can make it, even amidst the most extraordinary prosperity ; and with an amount and extent of crime, which make even this beggary a concern of secondary consideration. Now I do not ascribe all this crime and poverty to poor-laws, and poor-rates. Far otherwise. But I may ask, whether there is any ground whatever in the space of history over which we have passed, for the belief that poor-laws and poor-rates have diminished pauperism in England ? I may ask, if these successive enactments, and provisions, do not indicate very unfavorably for the character and tendencies of poor-laws ? And I may also ask, if it be not an unquestionable fact, that, of late years at least, these laws have increased the number and sufferings of the poor, by acting as a bounty at once upon population among the poor, and upon the oppressions of their employers ? Is it said that these are results, not of the law itself, but of the mode of its administration ?

I answer, that the law never was, and it never can be, well administered. It carries in itself, and they are inseparable from it, the principles of all the evils which have come from its mal-administration. The language of the facts I have adduced seems to me to be very unequivocal. The provisions of the fortythird of Elizabeth, and the laws of the founders of our commonwealth, I have no doubt, were intended for good. But they were direct violations of a principle, which is not to be entrenched upon by human legislatures; the principle, I mean, that direct and authoritative prescriptions and enforcements of moral duty belong only to God. Religion has never flourished, except in the cases in which it has been left as free by man, as it has been left by God. And charity to man, as a vital element of religion, must be left as free as love to God, or it will never flourish. The regulating power of these principles is within themselves; or, they are regulated by causes which are beyond the reach of human authority. Attempt by law the enforcement of either, and results will follow, — they have never failed to follow, — which will rebuke the daring presumption. Happy will it be if they shall prevent its recurrence.

The contrast, in this view of them, is very striking between England and Scotland. In the latter country, we are told, 'poor rates were comparatively unknown even when mendicity was ten times more prevalent than at present;' and they continue to be comparatively unknown there to this day. It was indeed most happy for Scotland, that in the time of the extremest wants and degradation of her poor, resort was not had to legislative interference for them. 'In 1745, the state of the country was rude beyond conception; and *the common people, clothed in the coarsest garb, and starving*

on the meanest fare, lived in despicable huts with their cattle. In the Highlands, in 1760, the condition of the inhabitants was, if possible, worse than that of the Lowlands. There was scarcely any variety of wretchedness with which they were not obliged to struggle, or rather, to which they were not obliged to submit. *To such an extremity were they frequently reduced, that they had to bleed their cattle that they might subsist for a time upon the blood,* (boiled); and the inhabitants of the glens and valleys repaired in crowds to the shore, a distance of three or four miles, to pick up the scanty provisions which the shell-fish afforded them. Their houses were commonly wretched, dirty hovels, built with stones and mud, and thatched with fern and turf; without chimneys; filled with smoke; black with soot; having low doors, and small holes for windows, with wooden shutters; or, in place of these, often stopped with turf, straw, or fragments of old clothes.' 'The poor, half starved animals, through mere weakness, often could not rise of themselves.' 'At this period, too, *mendicity was extremely prevalent;* and the labors of the peasantry, during harvest, were every now and then interrupted by the necessity of carrying crippled beggars from one farm to another.' 'Now,' on the other hand, 'the laborers are universally well fed, and well clothed. Their cottages are comfortable, and they are all in the enjoyment of luxuries that were formerly never tasted even by rich proprietors. At the same time, also, that mendicity is almost entirely unknown, poor rates have been introduced only in a few instances, and are in all cases exceedingly moderate. At present, indeed, we believe there is not a parish in the whole province of Galloway, assessed for the sup-

port of the poor.' — This is the language of the last October number of the Edinburgh Review. It is asked, from whence came this amelioration of the condition of the peasantry in Scotland? It is attributed, by the reviewer, to 'improvements in agriculture and the arts.' 'We have the best attainable authority for saying,' he adds, 'that we are considerably within the mark when we affirm that the produce of the country has increased *six-fold* since 1770; and, as the population has not quite doubled in the interval, it follows, that, at an average, each individual is now enjoying *three times* more of useful and desirable articles, than were enjoyed by his ancestors, subsequently to the seven years' war.' The arts, however, have advanced as rapidly in England, as in Scotland. Nay, it is said by the Reviewer to be 'admitted on all hands, that the produce of wheat in England and Wales has more than trebled since 1760; and, that, of the whole population of that part of the empire, there is certainly not one eighth part that does not use wheaten bread.' The question arises, why, then, is mendicity so tremendously great in England, and so comparatively small in Scotland? Is it said, that the evil is to be ascribed to 'the injudicious alteration of the poor laws in 1795,' by which the poor rates were employed to eke out the wages of the laborer. But whence came this perversion of the poor laws? From a succession of bad harvests? The seasons, indeed, in England, from 1795 to 1801, were very unfavorable to agriculture, and the wants and sufferings of the poor there were proportionally increased. But have there been no seasons in Scotland greatly unfavorable to its agriculture? What, then, has been the resort in Scotland in exigencies like

these? I answer, voluntary assessments in proportion as they were demanded by the exigency; and, when that ceased, the assessments ceased. But in a time of similar pressure in England, new modifications of the poor laws were adopted; for the question, there, of the provision to be made for a season of extraordinary distress, was not one of occasional, and temporary, and free, and sympathising charity. It was, rather, one of the adaptations of a law to the case; of a law which for centuries had been in operation, requiring annual, or more frequent assessments; and to which the poor in England had been as much accustomed to look for supplies, as those in Scotland had been to their own industry. In this single view, then, of poor-laws, their tendencies and consequences seem to me to be most manifest. When I compare the two countries in this respect, I cannot doubt whether it have been a great good to Scotland, that its charity has not been fettered by these laws; or, that they have been a cause, and a principal cause, of what some of its greatest statesmen have designated as the 'frightful pauperism' of England.

I cannot say that there are not other facts, and other views of this subject, which would lead to a different conclusion respecting it. I can only say, that I have looked at the facts which have come under my own observation, or within the narrow scope of my reading upon it, with a very strong impression of the magnitude of the interests which are involved in it; and that, before I undertook the agency for an examination of the actual influences of our own poor-laws, I was decidedly in favor of a modified plan for a State provision for the poor. But in the progress of that examination, I was brought to an entirely different conviction; and this con-

viction has been strengthened by all my subsequent reflections upon the tendencies and bearings of the poor-laws of England. Still, I well know, I may be in error. My aim, however, is not change for the sake of change, or even for the purpose of experiment. It is truth, and truth only. There are few interests of earth and time in which I feel so deep a concern, as in the causes, the remedy, and the prevention of the prevailing pauperism of the world; and there are few subjects, if indeed there be one, for increasing light upon which I should feel so much gratitude and happiness, as upon this. If I have taken narrow views, and have been led to erroneous conclusions upon it, no one will rejoice more than I shall in an exposure of my errors, and the prevention of any evil consequences which might have resulted from them.

There is, however, another view of poor-laws, which deserves far more attention than has been given to it. I have referred to this view, in speaking of them as direct and authoritative encroachments upon the peculiar prerogative of God, — *the direct inculcation of moral duties upon men.* Here, indeed, I may be met by the advocate of these laws with the reply, that although they have been so called, they are not, in truth, 'a compulsion of charity,' or a legal requisition of charity; that, in strictness of speech, however they may have been designated, they do not touch the moral law of charity, and have nothing to do with it. They are, on the contrary, to be viewed only as provisions at once for that *protection* which the law owes to the poor, in their exposures to neglect, and oppression and misery ; and, to those who are not poor, for defence against the dangers to which society would otherwise be exposed from an

overwhelming pauperism. My answer is, that in requiring assessments for the poor, the law has expressly and repeatedly required them, as '*charitable alms*.' It has therefore certainly intended to enforce charity. I have no doubt that the protection of society has also been one of the objects of poor laws. But, does any one believe that the protection of the poor was ever thought of in framing these laws? This is entirely a modern, and a very recent explanation of their design. Nor is this all. I take the ground, that provisions for the supply of the necessities of the poor are the proper objects, not of legal enactments, but of the moral law of charity. Such provisions ought to be *charities*, in the strictest sense of the term. Our religion is not more full, or more distinct, on any subject than on this; and the argument against poor laws, in this single view of them, is, to my mind, entirely satisfactory. *They set aside the charity of religion, and substitute for it something which is not charity.* Nor is this the only encroachment which law has made upon moral rights, and moral duties. In establishing a religion for the State, it has, in every instance of this daring, substituted for christianity something very different from the simplicity and freedom of the gospel. Law has never interfered even for the regulation of wages, or of industry or enterprise in any of their departments, without extending injury to a far greater number than it has been able to benefit. Above all will this be the result, when it assumes to enforce moral obligations. And provisions for the poor are, I repeat, the appropriate work of charity. So God intended that they should be. And never will they be sufficient, or what they should be, or conduce to God's purposes concerning them, till they are made exclusively the work of an enlightened christian charity.

This topic is so important, that I beg to say a few more words upon it.

It certainly would be a wise principle in legislation, never to attempt the attainment of moral objects by law, till it shall have been proved that moral means are insufficient for their attainment; and, even then, that such objects should be made the aim of law, not by assuming the power of enforcing moral obligation, but by removing, as far as they are within the fair scope of law, the impediments which are in the way of a free moral action in society; the outward and visible facilities and excitements to evil. In this way, Legislatures, for example, may do much for the cause of temperance. They may impose heavy excise duties, and require heavy costs for licenses to sell ardent spirits. They may also not only imprison the drunkard, making no distinction between the rich and the poor; but may give his property, if he have any, to trustees or to guardians, for his own support and that of his family. But, even while thousands are dying the victims of lawless appetites, it is not the province of law *to command temperance*, or, to prescribe to men what, or when, or how much they shall eat or drink. The law, too, may and should extend protection to all, whenever they may require it, in the quiet exercise and enjoyment of their religious rights. But it may not require that men should read the Bible, or pray at home, or go to church on Sunday, or on any other day. It may also, and it should, inflict exemplary punishment upon the profligate, the gambler, and the dishonest; for these are violators of the rights, disturbers of the peace, and to the extent of their influence, destroyers of the order and security of society. But if it should take into its keeping and

direction God's laws respecting moral purity, and industry, and honesty, it could communicate no salutary impulse to these laws; and, it would certainly lead to their very great perversion. And, in regard to charity, the law may be a very efficient instrument; for, it may do much for the remedy and the prevention of pauperism. It may act with a great and rightful power for these objects, by the means to which I have already adverted. And, in addition to these, it may give authority to Overseers of the poor to retain in their charge and service any able-bodied recipient of their aid, or support, till, by his labors he has remunerated them, or the institution in which he has been aided, for the expense incurred for him. A law to this effect would be justified by the principle, that if a man refuse to pay a just debt, he violates one of the elementary principles of civil society; of the laws of property; and may therefore be constrained to pay it. It may also establish Houses of Reformation for juvenile offenders, and thus save society from their depredations, and many hundreds of them from poverty and crime. It may make its prisons, through the solitary confinement of their inmates, and its wise and humane provisions for moral discipline, for useful instruction, and for generous excitement, to be schools of reformation. And it may extend all that protection equally to all the rights and interests of the poorest, which may be fairly claimed and enjoyed by the most opulent; and thus enlist the sympathies of the poor in the cause of law, and justice, and order, and the common weal. But it cannot authoritatively require charity, or prescribe the manner or amount of almsgiving, without encroaching on a moral principle, to the action, or even to the very life of which, freedom is as es-

sential a requisite as is air to the continuance of human existence. It cannot prescribe the manner and amount of almsgiving, without substituting a principle for charity, which will be even far more liable to the greatest abuses, than is charity, amidst all the selfishness of the world, to be insufficient for the occasions which require its exercise. This is a fact, which, I think, is very clearly demonstrated by the history of all legal interpositions for the support of the poor. These interpositions have commenced in seasons which, it was thought, peculiarly demanded them; that is, in seasons which called for extraordinary efforts for the relief of the poor. But, in such seasons, what has been the resort in Scotland? There, these exigencies have been left to the free judgment of those who were to meet, and to provide for them; and measures have been adopted, which were confined in their operation to the time for which they were required. But in England, fettered as it has been by legal requisitions in regard to the poor, the resort, in similar exigencies, has been to the law in the case; and, if no fair use could be made of it, recourse was had to an abuse of the law. This is the natural operation of the systems of the two countries for the relief of the poor. An extraordinary demand for this relief calls forth, in one, an extraordinary exercise of actual charity; and, not only of individual, but of social charity. When these exigencies occur there, the landed proprietors meet for the purpose of affording the relief required; and they afford it by a voluntary assessment. Or, the Parish Sessions may give the relief which the necessities of the case demand. This relief, however, is continued no longer than the exigency which called for it. On the other hand, the abuses of the poor-laws in

England, of which so much is said, and which are traced to the scarcity which began in 1795, have continued to this day, are sanctioned by usage, and, till the occurrence of a few late acts of resistance to them, threatened to become as essentially a part of the system, as if the law had incorporated them with it. This is a fact full of solemn admonition, and should not be lightly regarded by us.*

* In Mundell's 'Comparative View of the Industrial Situation of Great Britain from the year 1795 to the present time,' the author, in speaking of the act of the 43d of Elizabeth, says, 'The Legislature here made a great mistake, in attempting to enforce a moral obligation, which rests upon a far higher sanction. *This obligation has never been found to fail in the parishes of Scotland, where no compulsory provision has been introduced.* Mr. Duncan, a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, says, "the poor," in his parish, "are principally supported by their own relations. There is that feeling, in Scotland, of independence, that laudable desire among the poor to provide for themselves, and that dislike of anything approaching to charity, that the laboring classes in those quarters in which poor-rates have not been introduced, universally consider it their duty to make every sacrifice to support their poor relations." Whenever this moral obligation has been interfered with in Scotland, it has been found to be prejudicial. A committee of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in a report made to a select committee of the House of Commons upon the poor-laws, in 1817, say, "It is clear to the committee, that, in almost all the parishes that have come under their notice, where a regular assessment has been established, the wants of the poor, and the extent of the assessments, have regularly and progressively increased from the commencement. And it does appear to be a matter for very serious interest to the community at large, to prevent, as far as possible, this practice from being adopted; to limit the assessments as much as they can be limited, where the circumstances of particular parishes render them unavoidable; and, wherever it is practicable, to abandon them." ' pp. 101, 102.

'A fund is raised in every parish in Scotland by voluntary col-

Our Commonwealth, almost from the very date of its foundation, has been under the influence of poor laws. Our fathers came here with all their prepossessions strong in favor of laws for the support of the poor. They had lived under the operation of such laws in the parent country. One of the very first enactments, therefore, of the Court of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, had for its object, 'to determine all difference about the *lawful settling, and providing for, poor persons;*' and the extraordinary power was given to 'any Shire Court, or any two magistrates out of Court, to dispose of all unsettled persons into such towns as they shall judge to be most fit for the maintenance, and employment of such persons, and families, *for the ease of this county.*' Here, then, is the origin of all that litigation, which, from the beginning, has disturbed the peace of our towns, upon the question of the settlement of the poor; — a litigation, the least evil of which has been, and is, the not unfrequent expendi-

lections at the kirk door, and devoted to charitable uses. This fund is administered by the "Kirk Session," a body composed of the ministers and elders of the parish. When a year of extraordinary pressure occurs, and the fund proves insufficient for its purposes, the heritors, or landholders of the parish, hold a meeting, at which they fix for themselves a rate of contribution to make up the deficiency.' — *Edinburgh Review, No.* 55.

'No country in Europe has followed the example of England in the institution of poor laws.' 'On the continent of Europe, the public institutions afford protection only against infirmity, and extreme penury. Even Holland, so noted for its hospitals and charities, has not a poor-rate on the comprehensive plan of England.'

See Mr Meredith's report to the House of Representatives in Pennsylvania, on the operation of the poor laws. 1825. And Lowe's Present state of England. p. 189.

ture of twice the amount of money, which would be required to support him, or her, who is the object of the contention. Let the Overseers of the poor in the towns of our Commonwealth be consulted upon this subject, and great numbers of them, as well from their own experience, as their observation, will acknowledge this evil to be a great one. It is a contention, — respecting what? The legal duty of a town in regard to the relief, or support of a fellow being, to whom it has been found necessary to give relief, or support. A poor individual, or a poor family has asked for, and has received assistance, from an Overseer of the poor. And it is not improbable that relief may have so been asked, from the very circumstance that the Overseers are legally required to give it. It is believed, however, that he, or they, have a habitancy in another town in the Commonwealth. Notice is therefore sent to this town, that the individual, or family so aided must be removed; and that, till this removal is effected, all expenses incurred for the sufferer, or sufferers, will be charged to the town to which he, or they, are so supposed to belong. Is the asserted habitancy denied? The resort is 'to the law;' and the question is argued as a mere legal and pecuniary one. So, indeed, it must of necessity be. If the support required by the poor individual, or family, was regarded only as a concern of humanity and charity, no argument could be held upon it in our Courts. Presented in this form, it would be dismissed at once as a purely moral question, to be settled by moral considerations and principles. And as a merely legal and pecuniary question, the decision of which must rest upon the facts which go to prove, or to disprove,

the asserted and denied habitancy, the purely moral considerations and principles of the case are set aside in the minds of the litigants, equally as in those of the lawyers whom they employ as the supporters of their cause. It is a contest in law between towns, — not to settle a principle, the settlement of which will prevent future differences in regard to the poor, but, simply for a recovery on the one hand, and for an exemption from payment on the other, of an expense which has been incurred by a town for the relief, or support of some person, or family, which it is denied has a legal habitancy in it. Can such contests be maintained without a great sacrifice of true charity? Is not the cost, and the loss, of moral and kindly feeling, which are incurred in these contests, incomparably a more serious consideration, do they not bring with them an incomparably greater evil to our towns, than would be the pecuniary cost of supporting those who are the objects of such contentions?

Again. The very law which requires the support of the poor, of course invests the poor with A LEGAL RIGHT to this support. It thus creates a new, and supplemental right, additional to the natural and moral rights which were antecedent to it. And why is this? Is the natural right of man denied, or indeed the right of any living being, to that which is indispensable to his subsistence? 'Men do not despise a thief, if he steal to satisfy his soul when he is hungry.' (Prov. 6. 20.) Or is the moral right, the right which is founded in the exposures and sufferings of our common nature, and in our relation as fellow beings, and I will add, even in conscience, the highest principle of our nature, — is this right too undefineable, or too feeble, for the security of a provision for the poor? However this may be,

the fact is unquestionable, that the right thus conferred by law is fully understood. There is here no obscurity. This right, too, is as strong as it is well defined. I do not mean that every Overseer of the poor must, and does, give to every applicant for public alms. But I mean, that the applicants for public alms are greatly increased in numbers, by the knowledge of this right to alms when they think that they have need of them. I am quite accustomed to hear the expressions, 'there is a provision made for the poor, and I have a right to it as well as others.' The right, in common cases of our home poor, may not often be openly asserted, when alms are sought of the Overseers of the poor. And yet I doubt not that they will bear me witness, that the assertion of it, even in these cases, is not an unheard of occurrence among them. It would be strange, indeed, if the knowledge of such a provision required by law, should fail to create applicants for it. The provision is virtually a fund created by the law, of which those who understand the law, and who had rather live upon the earnings of others, than by their own industry, will seek their share ; not however as a charity, but as a legally allotted portion of the common stock. Nor is it to be doubted that a share of this stock is sought, and obtained by many, who, if there had been no poor laws among us, would never have asked for charity.

These, however, are not the greatest of the evils of our legal system of provision for the poor. The order of 'the Court of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay,' to which I have referred, 'for determining differences about the lawful settling and providing for poor persons,' has its date in 1639. But the principle having been adopted, that legal interference

was necessary to secure the exercise of the common rights of humanity toward the suffering poor, and a most arbitrary law having been passed for fixing settlements, it is not strange that the occurrence of an unforseen exigency, bearing directly upon the operation of the principle thus assumed, and of the measures taken to carry it through, should have been interpreted as a call to new legislative provisions upon the subject. Such an exigency occurred in 1675. "This court," it was then said, '*considering the inconvenience and damage which may arise to particular towns, by such as being forced from their habitations by the present calamity of the war, do repair unto them for succor*, do order and declare, that such persons, being inhabitants of this jurisdiction, who are so forced from their habitations, and repair to other plantations for their relief, shall not, by virtue of their residence in such plantations they repair unto, be accounted, or respected inhabitants thereof, or *imposed upon them according to law.* But *in such case, and where necessity requires, by reason of inability of relations, &c., they shall be paid out of the public treasury.*" The question arises, supposing there had been no poor laws previous to 1675, whether even the difficulties of this exigency would have been thought a call for legal interference? Had our ancestors never before enacted laws for the support of the poor, and, especially, if they had not brought with them the spirit of legal provision for this object from England, I do not believe that 'the difficulty and damage,' which it was apprehended, 'might arise to particular towns, by such as, being forced from their habitations by the calamity of the war, repaired unto such towns for succor,' would have been felt by these towns to have de-

manded legislative aid from the Public Treasury. The call was loud indeed, and imperative upon these towns, for extraordinary exertions. And had there been no poor-laws, free social charity might have received a strong excitement in behalf of the sufferers referred to, not only in the places where they were, but in other towns than those in which the destitute sought for temporary security and support. Nor can I have a doubt that the sympathy and humanity of those who were able to defend, and provide for their brethren thus 'forced from their habitations,' would have been sufficient for the exigency, great as it might have been. But, the fact is, and it is not to be forgotten, that social charity had hardly known a day of freedom within the limits of 'the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay.' It had been bound in fetters at its very birth, and was now so crippled that it was thought at least that it could not go alone. Or, it had not been trusted, and it was therefore thought that it could not be trusted. The Legislature had taken it into its charge, and the people therefore thought that it was the proper charge of the Legislature. Here were the chief difficulties of the case. Government had undertaken to say who should, and who should not, be supported by towns. The consequence was, that towns had not only learned to measure their obligations to charity by the ordinances of government, but to look also to government for relief, either when they felt, or feared, the weight of a more than ordinary burden. It was in this exigency that recourse was had, for the first time in our annals, to the Public Treasury for the support of the poor. I am almost tempted to say, would that our fathers could but for a moment have foreseen the effects of this pre-

cedent! The waste of money, indeed, I account as nothing, though it has been very great, compared with the pauperism, and the waste of virtue and happiness, to which it has ministered.

Suppose, then, that our poor laws should be abolished. This is a measure which is thought by some to be fraught even with far greater dangers, than are any with which these laws may threaten us. 'Repeal these laws,' it will be said, 'and thousands of beggars, now aided or supported by our Overseers, will at once be thrown upon the community. Repeal our poor laws, and, unharmed as may be many of our small towns, the large ones, and especially upon the sea-board, will be exposed to an inundation of poverty, from which we should soon find it necessary to pray that Legislative interposition may again be granted for our protection.' I reply, that I have no fear of this result. I have no fear that a repeal of our poor laws would leave the poor in any town in the Commonwealth exclusively to a dependence on private charity, provided that other means than private charity should be required for the charge of them. There might be, and I think there would be towns, in which, within a short time, it would be found no longer necessary to have annual assessments for the poor; because there would be found in them, as there are in many towns in Scotland, no greater number requiring charity, than could easily, and willingly, be taken in charge by private benevolence. But exigencies would probably occur even in these towns, which would require extraordinary efforts and measures effectually to meet them. And in our large towns, extraordinary efforts and measures might immediately be demanded. But for what? To aid and sup-

port all who have hitherto been supported ? No. It is the facility with which this provision has been obtained, by many of the idle and able bodied, who will never work, while they can live without work, and by the intemperate and improvident, who might support themselves in the time when there is no demand for their labor, were they to spare and save as they well might while they are every day finding employment, which has occasioned a great extent of the expenditures that have been incurred for the poor. It is a matter of course, that, as long as individuals of this description have only to demand public support to obtain it, the necessity of labor in one case, and of providence and economy in the other, will be unfelt. I would even say, let the law make the amount of its allowance as small as it may, and prescribe the manner in which this allowance shall be given with as many restrictions as it may, the simple fact of an appropriation for this object by law confers a legal right, and justifies a legal claim to it. And how shall the right, or the claim, be limited in practice, where the ground of either cannot be contested by those to whom application for the provision is made? Let the difficulties of the case, then, be as great as they may, which would be consequent upon a repeal of our poor laws, the proposition of a return to these laws would at best offer but a choice of very great difficulties. It would at best be the proposition of a measure which would be as sure to produce an ultimate increase of the evil, as it would be to bring a temporary relief from it. The questions, then, are to be fairly and fearlessly met, are there no better provisions to be made for the poor, than any which are within the scope of law ? Are not the claims of justice and of humanity to be fully answered, while at the same time the measures are

avoided by which pauperism in its worst forms, and sin and misery are extended? In other words, should all legal provision for the poor be abolished, how are the poor to be provided for? I hardly know whence a greater amount of moral good could be looked for to our community, or our State, or, at least, whence a rescue could be obtained from a greater amount of moral evil, than from an interest, as strong, and as prevalent as should be felt, in this inquiry.

Do you ask, then, what answer I would give to this last inquiry? In reply, I must ask, from whence has come upon us this extent of poverty? Who are these multitudes of the poor? Are the causes of the condition in which we find them unintelligible? Or, where these causes may be understood, are they wholly beyond our control? Is this whole multitude in some way to be supported by alms? May we not cleanse, or dry up, some of the springs of this evil which threaten us as with an inundation? Let us pause at these questions. Look at this amount of the poor *en masse*, which is thus to be thrown upon the community, and the difficulty of provision for them without legislative requisitions, aye, and without legislative allowances for their support, may seem to be insuperable. But separate, and classify them, and light will break in upon the questions of duty, and of interest in regard to them. Who, then, I ask again, are these poor? What are their just claims? And what are the rights and duties of society respecting them?

In answer to the question, who are these poor? I would divide them into five classes. First: The idle, intemperate, and improvident, who, but for their idleness, intemperance, and improvidence, might support

themselves by their own labors. Second: The permanently poor, who are broken in constitution and health by the viciousness of their lives, and are capable of little or no service by which they may minister to their own subsistence. Third: The permanently virtuous poor, who, by reason of disease, debility, or old age, are to be permanently supported. Fourth: The temporarily and occasionally poor, who are doing what they can for self-support; but who need, especially in winter, and during a time of sickness, occasional and temporary aid. And, fifth: The orphan, or deserted, or neglected and morally exposed, or actually vicious children of these classes of the poor. Each of these classes, I think, has strong claims, which imply duties on the part of society towards them. But society has also correspondlng claims and rights respecting them. Let us then be just in our judgments of their claims and rights, as well as of our own. Nay, we cannot correctly estimate our own claims and rights, or conceive justly of our duties in the case, while we deny, or think lightly of, the just claims which they have upon us. If society have caused, — and who can doubt whether it have caused? — a great amount of this poverty and vice, it is so far responsible for it, and should provide for it. But it should so provide for it, as at the same time to prevent its continuance. It should provide for it on the broad basis of the inalienable rights of humanity; of christian brotherhood; and of the obligations of the stewards of the manifold gifts of God that they be found faithful.

What, then, are the fair rights and claims of the first class, and what are the rights and duties of society in regard to them?

'The distinction,' says the report of the Commissioners on the pauper laws, 'is a broad one, and should never be lost sight of, between the idle beggar, and the impotent poor. For while the duty, in regard to the latter, is most plain, and enforced alike by the principles of religion and humanity, that they are to be supported by those who have the means and opportunity of supporting them, it is equally clear that the able-bodied and the idle have no claim to support from a tax upon the capacity, and the property of the industrious.' This is true. But it is neither all the truth, nor the most important truth upon this subject. For who, I again ask, are these idle and able-bodied, these intemperate and improvident claimants of alms? Some of them, indeed, were reared under advantages, from which a better condition and character might have been hoped for. But they had not moral strength to resist strong temptations to early vicious indulgence, surrounded as they were with facilities and excitements to this indulgence, which, even if they were not in all cases, in some at least were authorized by law; and in all were sanctioned by the approbation, or were either winked at, or unheeded by the policy, or the negligence, of society around them. A very great proportion, however, of these degraded fellow beings drew their first breath in the abodes of poverty; were reared amidst improvidence and intemperance; had few or no advantages during their childhood for religious, or any other useful instruction; and in the most susceptible season of life were exposed to all the influences which can corrupt the mind in all its springs of thought, and disposition, and conduct. When I see, as every week I see, the number of children who are growing up even in our City

of Schools, under the full action of all the circumstances which can vitiate the body, and deprave the soul; without any regular employment, and uncared for whether they are idle, or employed; very early as familiar with the language of profaneness, and as flippant in the use of it, as even a systematic education in it could have rendered them; already having acquired a love of ardent spirits, and being accustomed to obtain them when, and as they can; when I see these children, now wandering about with no other object than that of wearing away the time, and now engaged in petty gambling, or in some other and equally reckless indulgence; wholly uncontrolled at home, and only checked abroad, and kept from outrage, by their fear of its consequences; and when I think of the number of children similarly exposed in all our great towns, and in many of our small ones; when I am told of between ten and twelve thousand children in the city of New York, between the ages of five and fifteen years, and of two hundred and fifty thousand, between the same ages, in the State of Pennsylvania, who are not in any school; and when I think of the many hundreds of thousands in England, in Ireland, and on the continent of Europe, entering upon life, and passing its first fifteen or twenty years amidst moral dangers, of which no one speaks to them a warning word, and in the formation of habits as vicious and corrupting as they well can be; — truly I am surprised. But at what? Not that there is so much idleness, and intemperance, and improvidence, so much abjectness, and beggary, and vice among those who have physical strength for their own support. My surprise is, that there are not more, and more terrible outbreakings of the worst passions; that there is not more out-

rageous vice than we actually see among them. My surprise is, that so many of them are brought to do what they honestly may do for their own subsistence ; and, that they are not more frequently asking for what they need, or taking it unasked. Where, then, rests accountableness for their poverty, their character, their moral exposures, and the exposures of society through their lawless wants, and equally lawless dispositions and habits? A tremendous responsibility, in these respects, it seems to me lies upon the society around the poor of this class; for the causes of the degradation of these unhappy fellow beings are within the control of the society around them. The causes of this poverty are moral ; and three fourths of it may be prevented by the moral agencies, which it has pleased God to place within the power of those, who form and guide the opinions, and decree and establish the usages of society. Is it asked, what are these moral preventives? I will give my own views of them as briefly as I can.*

I would say, then, that the most important of all means for the rescue of those who are most exposed to fall into

* How can it be, that pauperism should not extend in our city, while 700 places are licensed in it for the sale of ardent spirits ; while a quart of these spirits may be obtained for ten cents, — a smaller sum than may be earned by the lowest laborer in an hour ; and while multitudes, under the excitement and gratification thus given to their vitiated appetites, are only more happy in the indulgence of these appetites, than they are in bringing others to the level of their own debasement? Let us be instructed by the facts which are daily calling for attention to this subject. The question of the causes and remedy of pauperism is intimately connected with the cause of liberty, order, virtue and happiness, through the generations that are to follow us. Let us be faithful to our interests and our duties in regard to it, and God will not fail to follow our efforts with his blessing.

this class of the poor, and for the security of society from the evils which are experienced, or are feared from them, is an active and prevalent sensibility in society to the true causes of their degradation ; an active and prevalent sentiment in society, of the nearness of the relation, and of the identity of the interests, of all its classes and its members ; and a corresponding feeling of obligation in every one, first, in no way to contribute to the production, or the maintenance of the causes of debasement and misery among his fellow creatures ; and, secondly, in every way, as he has the means and opportunity, to favor and support the measures, which, under such circumstances, he shall believe to be for the greatest good of the whole, and of every member of the community. Let this sensibility, this sentiment, and this feeling of obligation be what they should be, and what christianity intends that they shall be, in those who profess to receive it, and distilleries, and dramshops, and brothels, and gambling-houses, will not be found the formidable obstacles which they now are in the way of the reformation, and salvation of hundreds of thousands of our fellow beings from sin, and ruin, and wretchedness. I thank God that there is an increasing sensibility to the causes of the greatest, and of the most general suffering among us. But it is yet small compared with what it should be. And feeble, too, is the sentiment of the relation of men to each other, as the immortal children of the infinite Father ; and, consequently, of the identity of their immediate, through that of their eternal interests. Oh, when will this sentiment become the life-spring of the connexion and intercourse of man with man! We hear much of the mighty power of public opinion. And, in truth, it has done, and is doing much for the demolition of old, and

apparently impregnable institutions;-for the advancement of religious and civil freedom; for the abolition of slavery; for the suppression and prevention of intemperance; and for other great concerns of humanity. More, indeed, in these respects, has been achieved within the last fifty years, and through this very agency, than was accomplished by the labors of the preceding fifteen centuries. But the power which christianity would give to it, and the uses which christianity would make of it, are, I think, yet very partially, and to a very limited extent, comprehended. Let it be brought under the guidance of the instructions of Jesus Christ, as far only as his religion is professedly received, and embued with the spirit which Christian principles would impart to it, and there are no objects to which an enlightened christian benevolence can prompt, which an enlightened christian opinion will not be able to accomplish. Let every one, then, who acknowledges the truth of christianity, be faithful to the obligations which it imposes on him. Something may be done, by means short of these, to check the progress of abject pauperism and crime. But by no other means can all the good which God has placed within our power be attained or accomplished.

But the difficulty will still recur, 'we must take the world as it is.' Be it so. The question then presents itself, suppose our poor-laws to be abolished, what immediate measures must be taken to meet the exigency?

In the first place, I would reply, that *for the idle and able-bodied, the intemperate and improvident, who apply for alms, work, or the opportunity to work, should be provided.* I know it will be said, that however easy it

may be found to propose this plan, it will not be found very easy of execution. Perhaps not. But is it therefore wholly impracticable ? It would, indeed, be very difficult of execution, if an equal number with that of those who now make up this class of applicants for alms was continually, or even for a very long time, thus to be provided for. But suppose that our municipal authorities should advertise in all our newspapers, and even send the information from house to house, for a year, that half the average wages given to laborers who find for themselves sufficient employment, will be given by the city to the laborers who ask for alms because they cannot find employment, for each good day's work that shall be done by them in digging earth, and wheeling it on the city's lands, in the places which it is very desirable should be so improved, how much land would thus probably be brought into a state for the erection upon it of habitations for man ? I do not believe that many acres would thus be added to the city. But I do believe that, by this expedient, much might be done to check the spirit of beggary, and to excite many who are now willing to live by beggary to useful industry. For a short time, I have no doubt, in case of a repeal of our poor-laws, this class of the claimants of alms, in some of our towns, would be large ; and, for a long time, — at least as long as every conceivable excitement to intemperance is left in their way, — there will be a sufficient number of them to call for the very serious attention of the Overseers of the poor, and of the public. For this class of the poor I would not therefore wholly rely on this expedient. I would proceed a step further, and provide for them well organized *Work-houses.*

This measure is recommended in the Report of the

Commissioners. But it is there proposed only as a measure for 'the protection of the industrious and the thrifty, against the demands and incursions of the idle and able-bodied.' It is therefore there recommended only on the ground of the claims of society against this class of the poor. But it ought to have been distinctly stated, and should be distinctly understood, that the claim for these establishments is quite equal on the part of those who are to be sent to them. Work-houses, and even prisons, will assume a new character, and be regarded with new associations and sentiments by society, when it shall be fully comprehended to what an extent it is the *misfortune*, as well as the vice of the inmates of these institutions, by which they are brought to them. I have referred to the circumstances by which great numbers are brought into this class of the poor, and I will not here dwell upon them. I say only, that if society have a right to demand protection from them,—and I admit this right,—they, too, have some corresponding claims upon the sympathy of society. I do not say that they have a claim to alms, as such; for, in proportion as a reliance is had simply on alms for their relief, the very means of relief are also means of confirming and extending the evil. This reliance has indeed done very much to extend, and to perpetuate the evil. But it still may be a noble charity to found a Workhouse, which, while it gives support, and requires compensation for it from him who shall receive it, at the same time confers, with the support so given, the unspeakably greater good of that moral instruction and discipline, which shall call forth new and better dispositions than were ever before possessed, and do what can be done for the formation and establishment of a better charac-

ter. Let Work-houses be established on these principles in the counties, or in smaller districts or departments of our Commonwealth, in which alone Overseers of the poor shall be authorised to give aid to those who have physical power for self-support; and, let the Legislature give the power, if it be not already possessed, to compel the inmates of these institutions to so much labor as would at least have earned their entire support if they had been laboring abroad. To my mind, there would be nothing unjust, or unkind, in either of these measures; and should even very many, who might be so provided for, be unable to make a complete remuneration for the expenditures incurred for them, I cannot doubt that a great good would accrue both to the poor of this class, and to society, through these institutions. I cannot doubt that poverty, of the kind here referred to, to a considerable extent may thus be remedied; or that, to a still greater extent, its increase may thus be prevented.*

* The Work-house system, as it exists in England, is indeed as bad as could well be devised, and is as corruptly administered as the system of poor-rates. It is a fit part only of such a machinery as that to which it belongs, and could be retained only in such a connexion. When the Work-house system therefore is spoken of by English Political Economists, or Philanthropists, we are to understand that reference is had to Work-houses as they now exist in England. Two or three, or it may be half a dozen parishes unite to farm out their poor to the keeper of one of these establishments. The houses in which the poor are thus kept do not admit of the classification of their inmates, and a very depraving influence is constantly going on in them. Nay, in London at least, the inmates of these institutions are allowed to go out once and twice a week, to visit their friends; on which occasions they swell the number of street beggars, and are not distinguishable from them. — Nor have

The *second* class I have named consists of *the permanently poor, who are broken in constitution and health by the viciousness of their lives, and are capable of little or no service, by which they may minister to their own subsistence.* These, also, I would make the inmates of a *Work-house.* They are now, indeed, as they are seen abroad, and while living upon the miserable food which sustains them, and daily extending disease through their bodies, and corruption and misery through their minds, by the indulgence of their vitiated and lawless appetite for ardent spirits, often so much enfeebled, as to be able only to move about in search of sustenance, or of the stimulous which they feel to be more important for them than food. But in a well-regulated Work-house, to which they should be sent, or on their application received, as per-

we yet, in our own country, a Work-house as it should be. The best organized establishment of this kind which I have visited is that in Baltimore. There, a debt and credit account is opened with each inmate. Board, clothing and medical attendance, are charged to each; and as soon as any one is capable of work, work is required of him in payment of his debt. The principal employments in this establishment are, farming, weaving, shoe-making and tailoring. Seven cents a day are credited for work done; and he who leaves the institution without having received a regular discharge is held liable for the debt he has incurred in it; and if taken and returned, is punishable for a misdemeanor. — The average number per month in this institution last year was 434. The whole expense for the poor in it last year, was $13,956 45. The expense for out door poor, in the same year, was $1,814 25. Total, $15,770 70. The number of out door poor assisted by the Trustees for the poor was 117. — These sums are independent of expenditures for permanent improvements, and for interest upon the debt arising out of the purchase of the farm, which, if added to the above total, would make the whole expense to have been $17,004 67. The population of Baltimore is 80,000.

manent poor, to live and die there, many would regain the strength by which they could do something for their support; and, in truth, be a far less expense to society, than they are while living as they now live. The removal of the spectacle and example of such as these from the families in which they live, and the neighborhoods in which they are seen, would alone bring to these families and neighborhoods a moral good, which would richly repay the expense at which it must be purchased. This is a class of the poor which calls loudly for compassion. It contains some who have fallen from a condition of competency; and a greater number who have come into it from the first class which I have described of the poor, and who have descended, some more rapidly than others, and some further than others, into the gulf of utter darkness, and of total dependence, in which we find them. In a Work-house, organized upon the principles of an enlarged christian philanthropy, — by which I mean the principles at once of the greatest good to its inmates, and to society, — the poor of this class would recover some at least of the almost lost powers of their moral nature. Something, and perhaps much would be effected, in the work of their moral redemption. Without any encroachment upon their rights, government might give the power of continuing their confinement, in case of the recovery of their health, till they shall have made a suitable return, by their labors, for the care that has been taken of them. Government may thus at once act for the rich, in the protection of property; and for large numbers of the poor, in saving them from the greatest of their exposures and miseries.

That the two classes of the poor of which I have spoken comprehend a very large proportion of the depen-

dents upon public alms, we have the testimonies of the Superintendents of our Alms-houses. Of 499 inmates of our House of Industry, when it was visited by the agent of the Commissioners, three fourths, excluding idiots and the insane, were said to have been brought there by intemperance. Of 3,000 who have been admitted to the Salem Work-house, during the ten years in which it has been in the care of its present Superintendent, he thinks that 2,900 were brought there, directly or indirectly, by intemperance. Of 109 in the Marblehead Alms-house, 78 were brought there by the same cause. In Cambridge, three fourths of 104, and in Charlestown, the same proportion of 150, but for this cause, it is thought, would not have been in the Alms-house. And hardly is there a town in the Commonwealth, the statistics of whose poor have been taken, in which this is not considered as the principal cause of the most expensive poverty for which it has to make provision. Nor is this the strong conviction only of the Superintendents of our own Alms-houses. Say those of Columbia County, New York, 'Of all the persons sent to the Poor-house, more than half have been reduced to pauperism, directly or indirectly, by intemperance. The statute ought to provide directly, and not by implication, that the services of such persons shall be effectually under the control of those who have the support of their families, — the Overseers of the poor. The Poor-house system is daily becoming more popular, from satisfactory evidence of its bettering the condition of the poor, and vastly lessening the expense of their support.'— In this County, it is to be remembered, that aid is given by the Overseers only at the Poor-house.— The Superintendents in the County of Seneca 'do not

hesitate to say, that it is their firm belief that two thirds, if not three fourths of the pauperism of the County, arises from intemperance.' And, says the Superintendent of the Alms-house in the city of New York, in a letter dated 7th January, 1833, and addressed to the Secretary of State, 'The number of male adults at present in the house is 572, of which number there are not ten that can be called sober men. The number of female adults is 601, and I doubt whether there are fifty of them who can be called sober women. I consider the present pauper-laws as calculated to encourage intemperance, from the fact that habitual drunkards remain in the asylums which are provided for them *only during their pleasure. When they are ordered to work, many of them take their discharge. They soon become miserable objects about our streets, and are sent again to the Alms-house; and by the time they get well, again take their discharge. And so on from year to year. I believe that all persons whom the public support as habitual drunkards ought to be admitted to a Work-house for at least twelve months, where they could be compelled to earn their living. And when their term expires, if they take their discharge, and again become intemperate, commit them again for twelve months more, and so continue.*' I will only add, from the highly respectable Superintendent of our establishment for the poor at South Boston, that, 'when it was commenced, it was intended for the reception and employment of the able-bodied poor, who should claim the charity of the city. Hence it was called the *House of Industry. But it has no effectual means of detaining this class of the poor when they are disposed to escape from it. They go to it, therefore, only for temporary relief, when they are worn out by intemperance and disease, and leave*

it as soon as they have acquired strength to return to their former indulgencies in the city, or to lead a wandering life in travelling over the country. Instead, therefore, of being a House of Industry, the institution has become at once a general infirmary, an asylum for the insane, and a refuge for the deserted and destitute children of the city.' Here, then, is the chief cause of the worst form of poverty among us; of the poverty which calls for the largest expenditures, and which occasions the greatest public insecurity, and private misery. And here is suggested, or directly expressed, one of the practicable measures as well for its future prevention, as its immediate remedy. Let the principle be adopted, of long confinement in these institutions, and let it be faithfully carried through, and the necessity will be superseded of a large part of our annual provisions for alms. We have yet no model Work-house in our Commonwealth; no one which admits of the classification which should be made in such an establishment; no one, which, in its construction, is favorable to moral influences; no one suited as it should be for the most profitable employment of its inmates. Measures, however, are in train for obtaining plans of work-houses, which will comprehend all these objects. After all that can be done, these institutions cannot perhaps be made to support themselves. But if they shall greatly lessen the number, and improve the condition of the poor, as well as diminish the expenditures which may be required for the support of their inmates, will not society be compensated for the cost of them?

The *third* class I have named consists of *the virtuous poor, who, by reason of disease, or permanent debility, or old age, are to be permanently supported.* For these,

if too numerous to be supported by private charity, the most comfortable and humane, as well as the least expensive provision, is a well ordered *Alms-house* By an Alms-house, I here mean all which the term imports. It should be literally a *house of charity*, to which, however, none but the fair claimants of alms as a charity should be sent. I would admit to it none who have been brought to poverty by their own profligacy, intemperance, or recklessness of any kind. A distinction should be made, — it is demanded by the virtuous poor, and should be demanded by the sympathies of society with them, — between themselves, and those whose poverty is immediately ascribable to the grossest sins. I would, however, make an Alms-house, as far as it may be, a house of employment, for I would give to this class of the poor all possible facilities for self-support. Employment will even add much to the happiness of its inmates. But it should not be forgotten, that they have a right to support from alms, when they have been brought to poverty by causes beyond their control. I have been in some Alms-houses in our country towns, in which the inmates were even generally of the class of which I am now speaking; and more comfortable establishments are hardly to be desired for them. Nor is the fact, of which abundant evidence is furnished by the Report of the Commissioners, unworthy of notice, that where Alms-houses have been established upon farms for the employment of the poor, the expense of towns for them has been lessened one half, or two thirds, even where there was so small an ability to labor in their inmates, that it would have seemed a circumstance to be cast out of the account in looking to the probable results of these institutions as an experiment.

The *fourth* class, that is, the class of those who are *temporarily and occasionally poor, who are doing what they can for self-support, but who need, and especially in the winter, and during a time of sickness, occasional and temporary aid, I would leave for the exercises of private charity.* There are some also of the immediately preceding class, whose characters and conditions will call forth that sympathy and interest, which will secure for them an adequate, an entirely comfortable support, in the homes which private charity will provide for them. So great, indeed, is the proportion of the idle, intemperate, and reckless dependents upon alms, that, if efficient measures should be taken for the care of these, I know not the claim of charity which our community would not most promptly and willingly answer. Many at least are our towns, in which there would not then be left a greater number requiring 'charitable alms,' than would be required to keep our sympathies with the poor in a happy and healthful exercise.

I have made a class also of the *orphan, the deserted, the neglected, and otherwise morally exposed children of the poor.* These, in large towns, form even a very large class of the fairest claimants of public sympathy and charity. Nothing can be more injudicious than it is to send children of this class to establishments, in which they are brought into a close connexion with adults, who have been brought to poverty by gross vices. Many of these children are innocent, and in our disposal of them, should be recognised as innocent. Many of them, however, require a very efficient moral discipline, which is hardly to be looked for but in an institution expressly established for their object. Such an institution is our House of Reformation. Such an

institution will be our Farm School. A due regard to the condition and claims of this class of children would be one of the most effectual of all means of preventing both poverty and crime.

I will only add, that I look for no great general good, in any of the departments of society, except from moral causes; and I look for the operation of moral causes only to an enlightened, and a free public sentiment. Much may be done for the poor, by a ministry which shall be exclusively devoted to their improvement and happiness. But this ministry will not be effectual to the good which might be accomplished by it, till it shall have the full aid and support of public sentiment. In proportion as the classes of society shall be aroused to a distinct perception, and a just estimate of moral interests, as incomparably the greatest of all interests, the means will be multiplied, in all classes, of the amelioration of human suffering, and of the greatest advancement of human happiness. It is not surprising that so many of the causes of pauperism, and of crime and wretchedness, have continued, and still continue to act almost unchecked, when it is considered how very little thought is given to these causes; how entirely attention, in most men, is absorbed by personal and selfish interests; how vague, even in many who would rise above these interests, is the sentiment of their relation either to God, or to their fellow beings; and, consequently, how feeble is the sentiment, that the life-spring of the purest happiness in every individual soul is that spirit of sympathy, and fraternity, which finds its own best good in the communication of good and happiness to them. I should even welcome any embarrassments, any immediate pressure, even of suffering, which would call forth a pre-

vailing christian sentiment in man towards his fellow man; a deep conviction and feeling of the truth, that the proper object of the highest concern of every individual, is his own moral good, and that of his fellow beings. By nothing short of this, I repeat, are the objects of christianity in our world attainable, as far as their attainment is connected with human agency. I should rejoice, therefore, in the repeal of all legal enactments for the support of the poor, if from no other cause, for the very reason that it would do something, and would, probably do much, to bring the question before the public at once as an individual, and a general concern, what is duty, and what is interest, in respect to the several classes of the poor? The sooner this question is so to be met, the better it will be both for society, and for the poor. Both duty and interest have, I think, been alike mistaken upon this great question; and the opposition and conflicts which have been supposed to exist between these principles, were but the oppositions and conflicts of interests directly opposed to christian duty. Let christian precepts be made our rule, and christian purposes our end, and there will be no clashing between them. Then will the rich be honored by the poor; and in turn, they will '*honor the poor*.' 'This sentiment of respect,' — I quote the words of one whom it is my happiness to call my friend, — 'is essential to an improving connexion between the more and less prospered conditions of society. This alone makes beneficence truly Godlike. Without it, alms-giving degrades the receiver. We must learn how slight and shadowy are the distinctions between us and the poor; and that the last in outward distinctions may be the first in the best attributes of humanity. A fraternal union, founded

on this deep conviction, and intended to lift up the exposed and tempted poor, is to do infinitely more for that suffering class, than all our artificial associations; and, till Christianity shall have breathed into us this spirit of respect for our nature, wherever it is found, we shall do them little good. I conceive that in the present low state of christian virtue, we little apprehend the power which might be exerted over the fallen and destitute, by a benevolence which should truly, thoroughly recognise in them the image of God. Perhaps none of us have yet heard, or can comprehend the tone of voice, in which a man, thoroughly impressed with this sentiment, would speak to a fellow creature. It is a language hardly known on earth; and no eloquence, I believe, has achieved such wonders as it is destined to accomplish.'*

Respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, May 5th, 1833.

P. S. I have not been taken from my service by any severe sickness during the last six months; and each month has brought to me increased evidence of the importance of this ministry. The connexions which are formed in it are favorable to the daily exertion of a very important moral influence, in cases which are hardly to be reached by any other institution; and I am more and more persuaded, if suitable instruments for the work can be obtained, that by no means can the well being of cities be more effectually advanced, than through the operations of this ministry. I am very happy in being able to inform you, that our friends in New York have invited Mr Arnold to take the office of a minister at large there; and I believe that he will at once enter upon

* Channing's Discourses, p. 165.

its duties. May our heavenly Father crown his service with the choicest blessings! Within the past six months, I have received very efficient aid from my coadjutor and friend, Mr C. F. Barnard. He has taken the entire charge of the services of the Chapel, and has devoted himself to his work with unremitted fidelity. The next report to you of this ministry will probably be made by him.

J. T.

(17)

A

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

THE HON. HARRISON GRAY OTIS,

MAYOR OF BOSTON,

RESPECTING

THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION,

AND THE

COMMON JAIL, IN BOSTON.

BY JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

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A

LETTER

TO THE HON. HARRISON GRAY OTIS.

Dear Sir,

In my capacity as a minister at large in our city, for the special service of the poor, I was early led to an acquaintance with the condition of our prisons; and I have long wished to be able, in some manner, to extend correct information concerning them among our fellow citizens. I thank you, therefore, for your permission to address to you my views upon this important subject. Your well earned influence in the high office which you sustain among us, will secure attention to a public letter, to which your name shall be prefixed. With myself, I am aware, will rest all responsibility, both for the facts and sentiments which I have to communicate. Nor have I asked you to allow me thus to address you, that I might call upon you for great and immediate efforts, in behalf of these prisons. I know that great changes are always to be made cautiously; and, that a time of extensive embarrassment and depression, is not a time in which to call upon the public for great expenditures. There is, however, no impropriety, as I conceive, even at a time like the present, in bringing a subject before the public,

which may ultimately call for great expense; for, the time may at least be as favourable, as one of great prosperity, for a serious consideration of existing evils, and for calm discussion respecting the means of mitigating, or of obviating them. I shall have done some good by the exposition which I have to make of the condition of these prisons, if I shall but call the attention of one to the subject, who will treat it more faithfully, and who can act more efficiently upon the public mind, than I can. And I will not think my labour to be wholly lost, even if I should never see any good resulting from it.

The character and operations of the public institutions of a city, it is too often taken for granted, are well understood by its inhabitants. But, like other objects which are near, and to which attention may at any time be given, they are, for the most part, passed unregarded, by those who should feel a strong interest in them; or, even if they obtain a temporary notice, it is felt that, for the present, too much of the spirit of self-sacrifice is required, for an examination of them in all their details; and they are soon forgotten. Hence it is that many, who have passed their lives in a city, and who are well informed concerning many foreign objects, have first learned the character of some of the most important of the establishments, by which, perhaps, they have been passing every day, from the narrative of some traveller who has visited, and carefully observed them; and from his account of them have first understood the evils of one, and the beneficial influences of another, which for years may have been enlarging within a short distance from them. This, to say the least, is very unwise. Public institutions, of all kinds, are necessarily committed to the judgment and

care of individuals, who are considered as responsible for the proper conduct of them; and the directors, and other officers of these institutions may, or may not, be culpable for the evils to which they may be conducing. But if great evils, in which the public ought to feel a strong concern, exist in any of the establishments of a city, these evils should be made known, that, as speedily as possible, a remedy may be found for them. My own opportunities have indeed been more favorable than those of many among us, for attention to our institutions, both for charity, and for punishment; and this is my apology, if I need one, for bringing this subject before the public. I do not, however, propose at this time, to attempt a full review of our charitable and penal institutions; but alone, within as short a space as I may, to give the results of my observations respecting our House of Correction, and our common Jail. Of these prisons, I cannot but think, that very little is generally known among us; and I therefore wish to state a few facts concerning them, which, from their character, will supersede the necessity of any long course of reasoning in regard to them.

But, before exhibiting these facts, it is important that I should distinctly state, that I have no intention of inculpating any who are in the government of these institutions. In my visits to the Jail, I have always received, both from the Sheriff, and from the Jailer, every facility that could be desired, for the freest intercourse with the prisoners; and, equally in visiting the House of Correction, from the Overseers, and from all the subordinate officers. For the facts comprised in the statistical tables, which I shall give of commitments, &c. to the House of Correction, and which could be obtained only from the

records of this prison, I am not only indebted to Mr Badlam; but I am under obligation to him for having devoted many hours to an examination of his records, that, with as much accuracy as possible, he might answer the queries which I had addressed to him. Nor have I any objections to offer against either of these prisons, as far as their temperature, or their cleanliness is concerned. They are well warmed, and they have sufficiently large windows; and the whole interior of each of them is so often white washed, that the atmosphere to be breathed in them is perhaps as pure, as can reasonably be expected within the walls of a prison. The evils of which I complain lie beyond the power of any, or of all these officers. They are inherent in the establishments as they now are. But they form so very great a grievance, that they ought to be exposed, and kept in view, till means can be devised for their removal.

A thorough knowledge of these prisons is not to be obtained, merely by passing through them, and by the impressions which will be received in a single visit to them. And yet, an intelligent and inquisitive stranger, by the inquiries and observations of a single hour, will not only be satisfied, that they are not what they should be, but he will leave them with an undoubting conviction, that all their moral tendencies are the worst that can be dreaded in such establishments. Let us look at them, as they may at any time be seen by any one, who will allow himself the leisure of a single hour for their examination. It is not easy to give descriptions of places, by which very definite conceptions may be obtained of them. But even general ideas of the structure of these prisons, and of the characters and condition of their inmates, cannot

fail, I think, to convince any one, that they are, and necessarily must be of a character, which ought not to be endured in a christian community.

The Common Jail, and the House of Correction, are in one yard, and are contained within one inclosure. We descend into this yard, and here we see two buildings of granite, about one hundred feet apart, running in a direction nearly from south to north, and parallel with each other. Each of these buildings contains three stories. The whole of one of them, and the middle story of the other, are for the confinement of those who are sent to the House of Correction. The upper and lower stories of the latter building form the common Jail. All the men belonging to the House of Correction, except the colored people, a few who are disqualified for work, and the lunatics who have been sent here, are confined in the middle story of the building, the upper and lower stories of which are used for a jail. In the lower story of the other building, the colored people are lodged, and a few invalids and lunatics are confined; and the stories above are appropriated to the females. Here is a very fair exterior. The male convicts of the House of Correction are at work in the yard; and the females in their apartments. Here, as far as I know, is no unnecessary severity; and something, at least, is done by the prisoners, to defray the expenses which are incurred for their punishment. But to form any just idea of these prisons, we must enter them. Let us, then, first look into that for the female convicts.

The lower story of this building is divided, through the length of it, by an arch nine feet wide, and eight feet ten inches high. Here are ten rooms on one side, and nine

on the other, each measuring about ten feet by seven. Five of these rooms are for solitary confinement; and the other fourteen are for the colored men, and the invalids and lunatics, of whom I have before spoken. A few white men,—three or four,—may generally be seen in this arch, who either have the charge of the lunatics, when they are out of their cells; or they are temporarily here, while passing through 'the horrors,' occasioned by their sudden deprivation of spirituous liquors; or they are those who are too feeble for work, and not sick enough to be sent into the rooms which are used as hospitals. The average number of colored men who are lodged here is eight or nine.

Here I must be permitted to say, that I have no language in which to express my sense of the injustice, or of the inhumanity, of committing a lunatic to the cell of a prison. Let him be poor as he may, and let his derangement be caused as it may, supposing it to be permanent, or of long duration, he is a proper subject for a lunatic asylum; and if he be taken from his family, he should be sent alone to a lunatic asylum. If the law does not require this disposition to be made of him, it ought to require it. The confinement of a single deranged man to this prison, merely to save the expense of his board at the asylum, fixes a deep stain on the moral character of our city.

But we leave the pitiable objects who are to be seen here, and ascend to the middle story of this building. Here also are nineteen rooms. One of them is used for the solitary confinement of females, and one for a store room. Here is an arch of the same length, and width, with that in the lower story, and the rooms are of the

size of those below. Here the colored women are confined, and those of the whites who cannot be profitably employed in sewing, and who are occupied either in washing, or in picking wool. The average number of colored women is about fifteen. Three of these are generally confined in a room, and each of the other rooms generally contains two white women.

We proceed to the upper story, and here we find nine rooms, and a cell. One of these rooms is used as a store room, and one or two, as the necessity of the case may be, for hospitals. These rooms measure fourteen feet nine inches, by ten feet six inches; except that which is called the cell, which measures about ten feet by five. Here, four, five, and six females are confined in a room.

Having taken this cursory glance of the prison for females in the House of Correction, let us pass to that for the men. This, it will be recollected, is in the middle story of the building, the upper and lower stories of which are our Common Jail.

Here are nine rooms, one of which is used for a hospital. A stranger, in visiting this prison, finds in it only a few invalids, with perhaps a single healthy prisoner who has the charge of them. The rooms measure fourteen feet nine inches, by ten feet six inches; are eight feet ten inches high, and have windows which are three feet ten inches high, and three feet wide. The clean, white walls, both of the arch, and of the rooms, indicate the care which is taken for the health of the prisoners; and, it ought to be added, that the females, as well as the men, have the medical services of a physician, who visits them daily, and in whose skill and humanity they may well repose the most entire confidence. Here, we are told,

that the average number who are confined in these rooms, is from five to seven; though seven of these rooms have contained each eight men, and one, ten men at a time. A recurrence, for a moment, to the offences for which these men have been sentenced to this place, and to the characters which they have brought here, will enable any one to form a correct, though it be a very general idea, of the kind of intercourse which they will hold with each other; and of the effects, of which such an intercourse must almost necessarily be productive.

From the House of Correction, let us turn our attention for a moment to the Common Jail.

Immediately above the prison for the men in the House of Correction, is the debtor's jail; and, immediately below it, are the apartments for the criminals who are committed for trial; or, from inability to pay the costs of court, and the fine to which they have been sentenced; or, for any, and all the offences, for which men are condemned to imprisonment in the common jail, either by the United States, the Supreme, the Municipal, or the Police Court. Here are, or have been, and at any time may be, those committed for murder, for assaults, for robbery, for theft, for impurity; and those of every grade in crime, from him who has taken the life of his fellow-man, and glories in the act, to him who, it may be, is soon to be acquitted as innocent; or, who would be set at liberty, if he had the means of paying a fine of four or five dollars. The rooms are in number, and size, corresponding with those of the men in the House of Correction above them; and here are the same facilities, which are there, for the freest intercourse. We learn that the average number in the debtors' apartments is about twentythree; and this, too,

is about the average number in the criminal's jail. Now let any one, I ask, who would understand the actual character of these prisons, and their moral influences, for it is alone these influences which have induced me to bring this subject before the public, allow himself the brief space which is required, deliberately to reflect upon them, in the single aspect in which they are here brought before him. Is this a jail, in the very sufferance of which among us we can feel ourselves to be justifiable? Or, is the prison, which we call the House of Correction, in any degree deserving of the name which we have given to it?

Were I not to go beyond this general description of our Common Jail, and our House of Correction, I should be completely vindicated to my own mind, and, I believe, to the minds of all thinking men, in all which I have to say against these prisons. Let any one but walk through them, alive to the consideration that here are not less than two hundred individuals, males and females, committed for almost every diversity of legal offence, and comprehending all ages from sixteen or seventeen, to seventy years, and let him observe the opportunities and means which these prisoners have for the freest communications with each other, and no doubt will be left upon his mind, whether they must be, what they in truth are, seminaries of iniquity. Aware, however, as I am, that general descriptions can at best give but general, and vague conceptions, I have obtained from the master of the House of Correction as accurate statements as can be made, of the number, and causes of commitment to this prison, from its commencement, to the 31st of the last July. These will be seen in the following tables.

TABLE I.

COMMITMENTS TO THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION FROM THE 6TH OF JUNE, 1823 TO THE 31ST OF JULY, 1829.

Years.	Commitments by the Police Court.	Commitments by the Municipal Court.	Total.
1823	239	11	250
1824	532	38	570
1825	536	47	583
1826	535	28	563
1827	471	33	504
1828	506	45	551
1829	264	26	290
	3083	228	3311

TABLE II.

CAUSES OF COMMITMENT.

Committed by the Police Court.		Committed by the Muncipal Court.	
Common Drunkards	1484	For Theft	173
Wanton and Lascivious	849	Assault	14
Pilferers	284	Disorderly Houses	13
Vagabonds	240	As Wanton and Lascivious	2
Railers and Brawlers	71	For Riot	6
Lunatics	58	Passing Counterfeit Bills	4
Unlicensed Sellers of Spirituous Liquors	16	Forgery	3
Stubborn Children	12	Receiving Stolen Goods	3
Fiddlers	9	For Selling Liquors without a License	2
Practising Unlawful Games	2	Fraud	2
Beggars	1	Libel	1
Fortune Tellers	1	Open Gross Lewdness	1
Idlers	1	Bigamy	1
Runaways Retaken	6		225
	3034		

Committed by the Supreme Judicial Court.	
For Secreting a Bastard Child	1
For Theft	2
	3
Whole number committed by these Courts	3034

A discrepance will be noticed in the totals of these tables. In that which shows the number of annual commitments, the total is 3311; and in that which shows the numbers for the several offences, the total is 3262. The difference between them is 49. The Master of the House of Correction, to whose kindness I am indebted for these tables, accounts for this discrepance by the circumstance,—which he thinks will satisfactorily account for it,—that, in making out the second table, a few among the first named offenders were sentenced at once for drunkenness and lasciviousness; or, as lascivious and pilferers; or, as drunkards and vagabonds; and that, in attempting to specify the number of commitments for each offence, he has, to the extent of 49, overcharged the numbers set against these offenders. The error, however, is not important, in view of the purposes for which I have obtained these tables. Let a deduction of these 49 be taken alone from the number of drunkards, and, in six years, there have been 1435 commitments to the House of Correction for intemperance. Or, let the deduction be made from the number of the wanton and lascivious, and there have been 800 commitments of this class within the same term. Having therefore accounted for the difference in the two preceding tables, I subjoin two others, which I have endeavoured to make as perfect as possible, by a personal examination of the records of the House.

TABLE III.

Recommitments of *men* to the House of Correction, from the 6th of June, 1823, to October 30th, 1829.

145	have been committed	a 2d	time.
64	"	3d	"
36	"	4th	"
14	"	5th	"
8	"	6th	"
2	"	7th	"
1	"	8th	"
1	"	9th	"
271			

By multiplying the numbers, in this table, of the men who have been recommitted, with the times of their recommitment, we find that 775 of the commitments in the first table, are in fact to be counted but as 271 men. Thus,

Twice	145	equal	290
3 times	64	"	192
4 times	36	"	144
5 times	14	"	70
6 times	8	"	48
7 times	2	"	14
8 times	1	"	8
9 times	1	"	9.
	271 men.		775 commitments.

TABLE IV.

Recommitments of *women* to the House of Correction, from June 6th, 1823, to June 30th, 1829.

83	have been	committed	a 2d time.
48	"	"	3d "
23	"	"	4th "
24	"	"	5th "
14	"	"	6th "
14	"	"	7th "
1	"	"	8th "
4	"	"	9th "
3	"	"	an 11th "
1	"	"	a 12th "
215			

By multiplying the numbers also in this table, of the females who have been recommitted, with the times of their recommitment, we again find that 793 commitments do in fact represent but 222 prisoners. Thus,

Twice	83	equal	166
3 times	48	"	144
4 times	23	"	92
5 times	24	"	120
6 times	14	"	84
7 times	14	"	98
8 times	1	"	8
9 times	4	"	36
11 times	3	"	33
12 times	1	"	12
	215 females.		793 commitments.

Here, then, it appears, that 1568 of the commitments in the first Table, do in fact represent but 486 prisoners. I believe, also, that the whole number of females, who have been confined in this prison, to the 30th of the last

June, is but 375; 215 of whom represent 793 of the commitments in the first Table. Assuming, then, that there have been 3311 commitments to this House, we subtract 1568 from this number, and there remain 1743 commitments, which represent as many individuals, who have but once been sent to this prison within the last six years. But when it is considered, how many of those who have but once been convicts here, have died since the time of their imprisonment; and how many have been, and are, scattered over other parts of the country, or of the world, and thus have been beyond the operation of our laws since the time of their discharge; the actual number of recommitments will, I think, give sufficiently appalling views of this institution. I suspect, indeed, that comparatively few who have once been here, and who have remained within the influence of our Courts and our laws, have been the subjects only of a single commitment. But I may safely leave these Tables to speak for themselves.

I have another Table, in which the places of the nativity of the prisoners are given. This table was made in 1828, and extends only, from the opening of the House, to the 31st of December, 1827. The following numbers, however, are not to be considered as representing different individuals, but different commitments.

From June 6th, 1823, to December 31st, 1827.

Commitments of persons	
belonging to America	1504
" to Ireland	346
" to England	98
" to Scotland	43
" to the British Provinces	65
" to France	8

Commitments of persons belonging	to Sweden	3	
"	to Prussia	3	
"	to Germany	5	
"	to Holland	3	
"	to Denmark	2	
"	to Spain	3	
"	to Portugal	7	
"	to Calcutta	1	
"	to the West Indies	23	
"	to the Sandwich Islands	1	
"	to the Island of Guernsey	2	
"	born at Sea	2	
	Unknown	319	——Total, 2438

Before availing ourselves of these tables, for a second visit to the House of Correction, I am constrained to say a few words in behalf of one class of the prisoners there; I mean, the intemperate. I believe that I have sufficiently strong impressions of the magnitude, and of the enormity, of the sin of drunkenness; and I would say nothing, which may be construed as an extenuation of it. But, in truth, we not only gain nothing by an exaggeration of the evil of this, or of any other sin, but we lose very much of the power, which we might exert over some of the worst of human propensities, by virtually teaching those who are under the dominion of these propensities, that they have incurred no greater guilt, than they have heard us ascribe to far less complicated, and less aggravated transgressions. Never, indeed, shall we gain in the end, by any injustice in our estimates either of good, or of evil. Let us then, in all cases, be true as well to the vicious, as to the virtuous. If there be any who are rotten to the very core, it is the habitually lascivious. For the truth of this doctrine, I appeal to all who have had opportunity, to any considerable extent,

to compare the effects of different sins upon the soul. And a dishonest man,—I do not mean a dishonest lad,—as soon as his character is known, is felt to be a criminal, whom it is no longer safe to leave at liberty; because he will pilfer and defraud, if he have the opportunity to do it. He is as thoroughly disgraced, in the estimation of those who know him, before he is imprisoned, as afterwards. No one supposes the act, by which his guilt is revealed, to be his first invasion upon the property of others; or, that it is his only sin. Nor, in strictness of speech, can we say of any one, that he is guilty only of a single offence. But it can hardly be said of a dishonest man, as it often may be of the intemperate, save him from this one evil, and he may be safely trusted; he may be a useful husband, father, and member of society. The final purpose of an intemperate man generally is, the immediate excitement which he finds in his intoxicating draught. The final purpose of a dishonest man, always, is something beyond the mere possession of the immediate gains of dishonesty. The intemperate, too, to an extent that would not be suspected, but by those who intimately know them, are aware of their debased condition; and, in their hours of soberness, are desirous of nothing so much, as of power to overcome the appetite, which they are sensible is destroying them. Some of them, it is admitted, appear to have lost all the better feelings of their nature. And it is admitted, also, that many of the worst crimes are committed under the influence of intemperance. In other words, men of the most lawless passions, and who are predisposed to almost every other transgression, are likewise intemperate. But there are those, who are temperate for months, who for

months feel not the least desire for ardent spirits, who are yet periodically drunkards. Some, likewise, are entirely deranged by a single glass of spirits. And there are those, who are recognised as drunkards, but who are never known to be intemperate, except under the pressure of some calamity, or trouble. Is it just, then, or is it wise, to imprison the intemperate with the lascivious, and with thieves? I cannot here allow myself the space which is required, for a full expression of my views upon this subject. But I could not pass the subject, without calling attention to it. Am I, however, asked, what then shall we do with the common drunkard? I would reply, that I feel, as strongly as any one can, the difficulties of the question. I would however say, that if a law should be passed, authorising his committal to the House of Industry, and for a term long enough to produce important changes both in his body and his mind, a considerable number at least might thus be saved from the influences of the House of Correction. But send an intemperate man, or woman,—I mean one whose only legal offence is intemperance,—as often as you will, to this prison, and you will recover neither of them to sobriety; though, perchance, you may cause them both to be initiated into the arts of dishonesty, or perhaps cause a still deeper pollution to be extended to the soul. But my object is, to exhibit facts; and here, therefore, I must leave this topic.

With the additional knowledge which is furnished by the tabular views I have given, let us again enter the women's apartments in the House of Correction. We pass by the lower story of this building, pausing only for a moment to remember the fact stated in the second Table,

that *fiftyeight lunatics have been sentenced to this prison!!!* We ascend to the stories above, and there we find from sixty to ninety females, from the ages of 16 or 17, to 50 years, confined as 'common drunkards,' 'wanton and lascivious,' 'pilferers,' 'keepers of disorderly houses,' &c. There are from two or three, to five and six in a room; and the same room contains, or often may contain, one of each of these offenders. In the same room may be, and sometimes must be, one who has just fallen into sin,—and this may be the sin of pilfering,—the habitual drunkard, perhaps the practised thief, and the old 'keeper,' who has pandered to the lusts of others, till she has extinguished, as far as may be, every spark of moral feeling in her soul. Here are wives and mothers,—I have seen four mothers in one room, each with an infant in her arms,—with, perhaps, an equal number who are unmarried. During the day, these females are in the charge of two very respectable and worthy matrons, who do what they can to exert a useful influence on the minds of the prisoners. But even these matrons acknowledge, that the whole of this influence is, a mere general restraint of the prisoners from gross improprieties. From five o'clock in the afternoon, at this season, till eight in the morning, these females are locked in their rooms; and here they are at liberty to say, and to do, what they will. Nor is it alone with the inmates of their rooms, that they can hold free conversation. From the apertures in the doors, which are opposite to each other, they can communicate with those in other rooms that are near to them, almost as easily as with those enclosed within the same walls. I do not indeed believe half of what these females have

told me. But if far less than half of it be true, this prison is a school of sin, in which the dullest in the work of iniquity may soon acquire a marvellous skill; and in which even those, if such at any time are sent to it, who had begun to feel a hearty sorrow for their sin, and who might, by judicious treatment, have been recovered to virtue, will be made for life the willing slaves of evil. Girls of sixteen years old have been sent to this prison for pilfering, who, within the month or two for which they were committed, have obtained the most accurate knowledge of the various haunts of lewdness in the city; have become the intimates of those, who were utterly abandoned; have learned the names of those on whom they might depend for the wages of guilt; have acquired the whole vocabulary of profligacy; and in mind, in purpose, in will, even before the expiration of the time of their confinement, have become as guilty as their associates. This is a sufficiently revolting view of the institution; and, had we nothing more to say of it, this view of it alone should awaken our whole community to the inquiry, is there no possible remedy for all this evil?

But the question, of the moral influence of this prison, is not to be decided alone by this reference to its obvious, and apparently necessary tendencies. I have been accustomed to visit it for the last three years, and I have not known one instance of the permanent reformation of one of its inmates. I have inquired, also, of the overseers, and of the matrons, whether they have known one to be reclaimed, of all who have been sent here; and their answer is, not one. There is, to be sure, a religious service here on Sunday; and two or three pious ladies pass an hour or

two, twice in a week, in religious conversation with the female prisoners. To these ladies, I doubt not, many confessions are made; and I, too, have heard not a few professions of penitence, and promises of amendment. But how can it be, that any corrective influence should be exerted here? I have again and again been told, and I believe it is true, that there is far more mockery of all that concerns duty and religion, in the hours which these females pass in their rooms at night, than there is of acknowledgment of wrong, or of the expression of purposes of a better life. We are not indeed to conceive, that all these female convicts are equally lost to all sense of duty and virtue. Wives and mothers are here for intemperance, or perhaps for theft, who are not otherwise comparatively corrupt; and whose greatest injury received from their associates is, an increased insensibility of the guilt of the conduct, for which they have been imprisoned. But this is an evil, with this class, which is almost, if not wholly, without an exception. The entrance of a new convict awakens the curiosity of all, to know who she is, and why she has been brought there; and, as each one is anxious to give as favorable an impression as she can of herself, the first work of every convict, on entering this prison, is, self-justification. And each one believes, or seems to believe, the story of the other, as the readiest means of securing a belief of her own. Each gives to the rest a history of her life, in her own way; and with unsparing comments on all, whom she is disposed to call her enemies, and persecutors. With whatever convictions of guilt, therefore, they may enter the prison, each seems, in a few days, to be convinced of her innocence. Or, if some are brought,

by kind and gentle appeals to conscience, to a confession of some fault in the case for which they have been punished, and a few may even be free and full in confession, in a single evening more may be done, and more is done, in their private intercourse, to exasperate their minds towards those who are without, and to deaden their sensibility to their own guilt, than can be done in a week for their moral restoration. I believe, therefore, that the instance is not to be adduced, in which even a female drunkard, after returning from this prison to her friends, has not been found to be more obdurately given up to her sin, than before she went there. And of those more profligate,—sunk deeper in iniquity than the drunkard,—that not one of any age, except the very small number who have been persuaded to be transferred from the prison to 'the Refuge,' has failed to proceed immediately ,or within a very short time, to the resorts of profligacy, crime and misery.

From the women's prison in the House of Correction, we return to that which is appropriated for the men. This, it will be remembered, is the middle story of the building, the upper story of which contains the apartments for the debtors in the Common Jail; and the lower, the apartments for criminals, and for those committed for trial. In this middle story, I have said, are nine rooms. In each of these rooms are lodged, from five or six, to eight or nine convicts. At eight o'clock in the morning, at this season of the year, they are turned out into the yard for labour; and with the exception of an hour at noon, they are employed, till sunset, in breaking stones, for Macadamizing our streets. This is well. In the yard is a very commodious building, which was erect-

ed for the purpose, and in which these prisoners work. They are, therefore, properly sheltered while at their labours; and, I have no reason to believe that more work is required of them, than they can easily perform. An immediate beneficial effect of regular employment, and of restraint from the use of spirituous liquors, is indeed most obvious, in the greatly improved health of these prisoners, after a month or two of confinement. But this, I believe, is the only good influence, which is fairly to be ascribed to this prison. There is, I know, a temporary security, in regard to the individuals who are sent here, that they who have been annoyed, or injured by them, will not again suffer this annoyance or injury, during the time for which the offenders are committed. But not only is all security respecting them limited to this term; but I believe, and doubt not, that the increased disposition, and capacity for evil, which are acquired during a confinement of three, four, or six months,—and some, be it known, are confined here for one and two years,—produce afterwards an insecurity, and an actual amount of injury and suffering, which are in many cases more than a balance for the temporary good which was experienced. I admit of individual exceptions to this remark. But it is true to an alarming extent, and it ought to arouse to serious consideration all who are interested in the moral well being of our city.

Here are from sixty, to ninety men. From the time of sunset, to sunrise through the year, they are in their rooms. Here are 'common drunkards,' 'pilferers,' 'vagabonds,' 'thieves;' and, one or more of those who are confined for the other various offences, for which men are sent to this prison. Sometimes there are also those here, who

have passed through a term of confinement in the State Prison, and who have had all the advantages of that prison, to qualify them to be instructers in this. One would think the evil, then, to be great enough, if there was no communication but between the inmates of the same room. But here, as in the prison for females, the convicts can, with the greatest ease, converse with those who are in the rooms which are near to them; and, where the voice cannot be extended, letters may, without any difficulty, be transmitted from room to room. Suppose, then, a young pilferer, or a young drunkard, to be sent to this prison; and such are always to be found there. He is locked up, at this season, from five o'clock in the afternoon, to eight in the morning, with the adroit thief; or, with him who has for years been abandoned to intemperance, and perhaps to all profligacy; or, it may be, with three, or four, who have been committed for different offences, each of whom is glad to impart all that he knows of the ways of transgression; and, quite as glad to be taught by the advice, and the experience, of his companions. In the rooms of the prisoners may be found a Bible, and a few tracts. But, if one should be inclined to read his Bible with seriousness, he may soon be laughed out of this, and of every other good disposition. From sunset, to sunrise, with the exception of the hours given to sleep, the employment of the prisoners here is,—conversation. Each gives his own history, and the history of all his friends. Each dwells, or has the opportunity of dwelling, upon his exploits; of repeating the thrice told, and untiring tale, of his successes, and his disappointments; and of forming his plans, and strengthening his resolutions, for the time to come. Can it be supposed to be

otherwise in a prison, where seventy, or eighty men, are shut up for fourteen or fifteen hours of every day, in nine contiguous rooms under the same roof; and who are debarred from unnecessarily speaking to each other, during their hours of labor? What topics have they for conversation, except the circumstances of their own, and of the lives of their acquaintances? Besides, they are, almost to a man, exasperated against those who have been the instruments of their conviction. And each so strongly sympathizes with the other, in the expression of this feeling, that if a confession of guilt should be obtained from any one, the intercourse of a few hours with his companions would entirely efface any sentiment of contrition, and make him as hardy as the rest in maintaining his innocence. Does any one suspect that this may be an exaggerated statement? I have not asked the Overseers of this prison to permit me to appeal to them, for the truth of my statements. But I do refer any one to them, who has a doubt upon the subject.

After speaking with so much freedom of these prisoners, I feel that it is due to them to say, that, at least of a large number of them, there would be ground for very strong hope of their restoration to virtue, usefulness and happiness, in any circumstances which should be favourable to the exertion of a moral influence upon them. Here great numbers are sent, who are otherwise virtuous,—in the common acceptation of the term,—than as they are intemperate; and, some thus confined for intemperance, are under twentyone years of age. And here are others, whose crime was some small theft; and who were never guilty of a greater legal offence, than that for which they are committed. But, the best, and the worst

are here brought together; and, during about half the number of their waking hours, they are left with all possible freedom to act upon one another. They are almost as little inclined to reading, as they are to solitary thinking, for they have been equally unaccustomed to either. They would, therefore, converse together, if it were but to wear away the time. And of what shall they converse? Will it be strange, if here should be some,—perhaps but a few,—who are disposed to set at nought all moral restraint, and with whom religion, in every form, is but a jest? Here, it is known, are some, who have been long practised in wrong doing; and who, however dull in other respects, are very shrewd, and even skilful, in making the wrong, with respect to themselves and their companions, appear the better reason. Ought we to be surprised, then, if even he who entered this prison in tears for the offence which sent him there, should go from it with self-congratulation in a conviction of his innocence; and with a mind prepared for any offence, which he could believe he might commit with safety? I should as soon think of sending a diseased man, for the recovery of his health, into a Lazaretto infected with the plague, as of sending a convict to this prison for reformation.

It is not easy, upon a subject like this, to state many facts from personal observation. A convict does not intentionally, or willingly, discover much of his character to one, who but occasionally visits him. I have conversed much with the prisoners, with an earnest desire to be useful to them; and I have received from many a confession of their faults, and apparently very sincere promises of amendment. But when I have followed any of these prisoners to their homes, after their discharge I,

have found, in every instance, that this confession, and these promises, were of little worth. And I have found, too, I believe in every such case, that he who has been imprisoned there, has felt himself to have been essentially injured in a moral view, by the intercourse of the prison. And the wives, and parents, whose children and husbands have been so returned to them, agree in the testimony, that the evil which they had hoped would have been cured, or at least checked, has rather been increased, or perhaps incurably established, by their imprisonment. These, in my view, are far greater evils in a prison, than the want of light, or of a free and healthy atmosphere, or of sufficient and wholesome food. They are far greater evils to the individuals who are the subjects of them; and, in proportion as they may be obviated, they are just causes of far greater reproach to the society which sanctions, and supports them.

I feel bound here also to say, that the classification of these prisoners, as of the females in the other house, is altogether impracticable. The very character of the buildings forbids it. No one, I believe, can be more desirous, than are the Overseers of the House of Correction, in every possible way to promote the moral and religious good of those, who are there committed to their charge. They are careful to secure a religious service for the men, as well as for the women, on every Sunday; and, when a clergyman cannot be found, who can perform this service, it is performed by one of these Overseers. But if any one should thus be brought to repentance, the effect might well be deemed miraculous.

Here we leave the House of Correction, and proceed to the debtors' prison in the Common Jail. Here, I have

said, are nine apartments, and the average number confined in them is about twentythree. In the same building, it will be remembered, and in the story below them, the men in the House of Correction are confined; and, on the ground floor, criminals who have been sentenced to imprisonment here, and those who are committed for trial. How far the debtors communicate with the prisoners below them, I know not. But, that they may easily communicate with them by letter, is unquestionable. There is, indeed, a terrace immediately beneath the windows of the debtors' apartments. But letters, which are secured by a string, may without difficulty be thrown over it, and drawn into the windows of either of the prisons beneath. I am not aware that any evil has resulted from this connexion between these prisons. Yet no one, I think, can doubt, whether it may be an occasion for great moral evil, or whether the possibility of this communication should be permitted.

There is, however, another view of this jail for debtors, which I think is deserving of serious attention. Suppose the possibility of intercourse between the debtors, and the other prisoners, to be entirely cut off. Still, they are confined under the same roof with the greatest criminals; and they have no outward advantages over these criminals, except in the fact, that they are raised higher from the ground, and have thus a more extended prospect from their windows, and more of the clear air of heaven. They have not, however, even the benefits of the free air and exercise, which they have, who are in the House of Correction. Here are men, who, for a debt of five, or ten dollars, are shut up with two, three, or four companions, for one, or two months, breathing no other air than that

of their apartment; and having no other use of their limbs, than that of which they can avail themselves within these narrow walls. Is it asked, how do they spend their time? I answer, some amuse themselves with books, some with such games as they can play, and others in any way in which they can most effectually escape from thinking Now I do not say, that a man should not be imprisoned for a debt of five dollars. I have not the leisure which is required for a discussion of the great questions, which grow out of our debtor laws. But I do say, that a man who is confined simply as a debtor, ought not to be made the tenant of a prison, in which criminals are confined; and, equally abridged of his liberty, even as a murderer. I do say, that simple debt ought not to be treated as a crime; and the debtor, legally innocent in other respects, made to feel himself as guilty in the eye of the law, as an adulterer, or a murderer. But I leave this subject, because I wish not to provoke a disputation, which I have not time to prosecute; and would ask a few moments' attention to the Jail, which is appropriated for criminals.

Here men are sent, who have been sentenced to imprisonment for assaults of all grades, from that with an intention to kill, to one of mere momentary passion; for riots, for adultery, for thefts, for burglary, for counterfeiting, for forgery, and for murder; and here, too, are *those who are committed for trial for all these offences*, whom yet the law recognises as innocent, and who are therefore to be treated as if they were innocent, as far as is consistent with their safe-keeping, till they have been *proved* to be guilty. Nay, here I have visited a man, who was in confinement seven weeks, merely be-

cause he either could not, or would not, pay the fine of a dollar and the costs of court, in a prosecution for intemperance, and for undue severity in the chastisement of one of his children. Of the communications of these prisoners with each other, which are as easily carried on as in the story above them, I have had opportunities to obtain abundant knowledge. Once, for nearly forty successive days, I regularly passed an hour every day in a room in this prison; and at other times, I have made many visits to men who have been confined there. And not only do I know that they are, during a large part of their time, conversing with each other from room to room; but that, by means of the tin vessels in which their food is passed to them, through the small apertures at the bottom of the doors, they are not unfrequently making interchanges of some sort with each other. By the aid of a long twine, these tin vessels are conveyed to the rooms for which they are destined, with unerring certainty, and with admirable expedition. We have no need of any aid from the imagination, to conceive of the moral turpitude to which such a prison must necessarily be conducing. Let a young convict be sent here, and in a single month he will have learned more of the arts of iniquity, than he would probably have ever learned in his ordinary intercourse with the world. Here, then, are most fruitful nurseries for the other prisons of our country. I have indeed no doubt, whether it would be at once for the safety of the community, as well as for the future character of a young transgressor, after his conviction, rather to admonish him and to set him at liberty, than even to doom him for a single month to a confinement in this jail.

And if the evil be so great with respect to convicts, what must it be in regard to those who are committed for trial? Let it be, that no one is confined here for trial, except in the case of murder, if he be able to give, or to persuade his friends to give, bonds for his appearance for trial. And let it also be, that any one who may be supposed to be innocent of the crime with which he is charged, will find it not impracticable to induce others to be bound for him. Still there have been those who have been so imprisoned, and who have been acquitted. And is it not the merest mockery, to talk of the presumed innocence of him, who has not been proved to be guilty, and yet to treat the accused and untried, as if he had already committed the greatest of crimes? And is he not so treated, when he is incarcerated with convicts; and does, and from the circumstances of the case can, receive no more lenient treatment, than is extended to these convicts? Should a young man, or a man of any age, who is strong in passion and weak in principle, be committed for trial to our common jail, however innocent either may have been, at the time of his commital, of the offence of which he may have been accused, it will be wonderful indeed if he do not receive his discharge with a mind inclined, as it never before was, to a life of crime and recklessness.

Much has been written upon the discipline of prisons. But I think that we are yet far from correct conceptions on the doctrine of punishment, and of the proper treatment of prisoners. It is but too common a feeling, that he who is convicted of a crime, is therefore capable of any crime; that he is irreclaimable; and that he is hereafter to be considered, and treated, as one whose hand

will be against every man, and of whom every one therefore is to be as watchful, as of a personal enemy. It is forgotten, or disregarded, that the convict is a fellow being; that in many cases he is far less guilty, than are many who are unmolested in their liberty; and that, far gone as he may be in sin, he ought not to be viewed by his fellow men as utterly lost, since he has not been forsaken by the common Father. We have yet to learn, that the *reformation* of the violator of law is an object, which claims at least equal attention, as the security of society against his depredations, or violence; that men are not to be reclaimed, merely by being shut up in solitary cells at night, and kept at hard labor through the day, even though they may be called to attend daily prayers, and may have the daily advice of a christian pastor; that evil passions and interests may be nurtured, and matured, even in the darkness of a solitary cell; and that the mind, instead of being subdued, and tamed, by the neglect of all that are without, or by their contempt, or by their harshness, may thus be goaded to desperation. We have yet to learn, that there is a moral, a christian interest, as yet almost unfelt among us, which is due to prisoners by those who are without the walls of a prison; and that, if a bad man is to be made good, he must be brought into intercourse with, and receive the sympathy, of the good. Treat men as if they were totally depraved, and you will do much to make them so. And have you then no share in their accountableness for their guilt? I have no doubt whether great improvements have been made in the discipline, and well ordering of prisons.* But the subjects has obtained but little attention, compared with its claims

* See the Reports of the Prison Discipline Society.

upon public interest. It demands the best thought of the best minds among us. The means of saving men from prison, claim indeed our first, and most deliberate consideration. And, thanks be to God, great light has been thrown upon the question, by the grand experiment of the School of Reformation at South Boston. I hope that I shall have an opportunity to give the results of my observations of this school. But I do earnestly beseech those among us, who are qualified for the work, not merely to look at the subject of prisons, but to examine, and to discuss it, till it shall be well comprehended; and, till principles shall be established for their structure, and government, which shall make them, as far as they may be made, Schools of Reformation. I would not depreciate the value of any of the recent discoveries, in the application of the mechanic powers. But to me it seems, that rail roads, and steam engines in all their varieties, have contributed, and will contribute, nothing to the advancement of our race, compared with the good which would be obtained by the concentrated light of wise and philanthropic minds upon the great questions, how may we most effectually save men from crime? Or, when they have fallen into crime, how may we most effectually reclaim them?

Is it said, that the evils of which I complain are irremediable, and that we must therefore bear them as well as we can? Had I thought so, I would have said nothing respecting them. But it is not true, that they are irremediable. It will require, indeed, a large expenditure, to make these prisons what they should be; and we are not prepared, at present, to incur heavy expenses. But, are we therefore to turn our eyes from the evil? The time has been, when our city felt itself to be able to make large

appropriations for internal improvements; and the time may, and I doubt not will come, when this ability will again be felt among us. And who will say that preparation should not be made as early, and as rapidly as may be, to exonerate ourselves from the guilt under which we lie, in having permitted such abuses to grow up among us? As these prisons now are, I repeat, that a classification of the prisoners is a matter which is out of the question; and, without the classification of prisoners, a jail is the foulest sink on earth of human corruption. We have indeed no dungeons in our prisons, and fetters are never used in them, but in cases of extreme necessity. We are told, however, that in some of the prisons which have dungeons, and in which the use of fetters is no strange thing, the prisoners, generally, are every day permitted to breathe the outward air; and all, at appointed hours, take their meals at a common table. But there is no common eating room, either in our House of Correction, or in our Common Jail; and the inmates of the jail, from the time when they are first locked in their rooms, till their term of confinement has expired, are not permitted to pass out of them, except on the special occasions when they may be called out into the arch, for private conversation with any one who shall be authorised thus to converse with them. Here, also, no attempt is made for their religious and moral instruction, or in any way to counteract the dreadful tendencies of this prison, except that of giving a Bible to the prisoners.—I would make no appeal to the passions on so grave a subject. But I do appeal to the great eternal principles of justice in every mind. I do beseech those, who are interested in the well being of our city, to inquire, and to examine, that they

may understand the evils of these institutions; and then with due deliberation to consider, what is our duty respecting them?

Allow me Sir, to add, that I have felt a strong sense of obligation to bring this subject before the public. I have omitted some topics, of great interest to my own mind, and, as I think, of great importance in their bearings upon the moral influences of prisons, because there might be a diversity of opinion respecting them; and because my immediate object is, to settle opinion upon a single point, the actual character of our prisons as they now are. Here, then, I leave the subject, at least for the present. The facts, which I have stated will not, I believe, be disputed. But, even if they should be, I am satisfied that they cannot be disproved.

I am, dear Sir, very respectfully,

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

To the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis,
Mayor of Boston.

Boston, December 28th, 1829.

PRIZE ESSAY.

(15)

AN

ESSAY

ON

THE WAGES PAID TO FEMALES

FOR THEIR LABOUR;

IN THE

FORM OF A LETTER,

FROM A GENTLEMAN IN BOSTON TO HIS FRIEND IN PHILADELPHIA.

BY JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Philadelphia:

FOR SALE BY CAREY & HART, JOHN GRIGG, AND TOWAR & HOGAN;
IN BOSTON, BY CARTER & HENDEE, AND CUMMINGS & HILLIARD; IN NEW YORK, BY COLLINS & HANAY;
AND, IN BALTIMORE, BY E. J. COALE.

March 25, 1830.

EXTRACT FROM THE GAZETTE OF THE UNITED STATES, JULY 15, 1829.

PREMIUM.

"The editor of this paper, is authorized to offer (and pledges himself for the performance) a gold medal with a suitable inscription, value one hundred dollars, or a piece of plate of equal value, for the best essay (its merits to be decided on by competent and impartial judges,) on the inadequacy of the wages generally paid to seamstresses, spoolers, spinners, shoebinders, &c. to procure food, raiment, and lodging; on the effects of that inadequacy upon the happiness and morals of those females, and their families, when they have any; and on the probability that those low wages frequently force poor women to the choice between dishonour and absolute want of common necessaries. The whole, as far as the nature of the case will admit, to be corroborated by facts, and to embrace an inquiry whether those evils are susceptible of remedy or alleviation; and if so, by what means."

The various essays offered in consequence of the above advertisement, having been carefully examined by the Committee appointed to decide on their relative merits, the prize has been awarded to the Rev. JOSEPH TUCKERMAN, of Boston.

Philadelphia, February 1, 1830.

BRIGGS & DICKINSON, PRINTERS.

PREFATORY NOTE.

During the last summer, the author of the following Essay, saw, in the United States' Gazette, a proposition for essays, "on the inadequacy of the wages given to poor females, for their labour; and upon the effects of their low wages on their happiness and morals." He had before thought upon this subject, and was therefore induced to bring into some order the views he had taken of it. The form of a letter was adopted, because it seemed to him, that he might thus accomplish his task with greater ease to himself. And the letter is supposed to be addressed to a gentleman, who was designated, in a printed address to the public of Philadelphia, within the past summer, as a suitable person for the office of a minister to the poor in that city, because, it was supposed

by the writer, that if the Essay should be successful, and should therefore be printed, it might thus in some degree be made subservient to the cause of this ministry, in the city in which the letter would in that case, be published. The writer, however, then knew not, that the premium offered for the best Essay on this subject, was wholly the contribution of an individual; although he was aware, that there was an individual in Philadelphia, who had felt and written much, upon the inadequacy of the wages of poor females. This individual is as well known for his enlarged philanthropy, as he is for the extensive business in which he has been engaged. To him, therefore,

MATHEW CAREY, Esq.,

This Essay is respectfully presented, by

JOSEPH TUCKERMAN.

Boston, February, 1830.

REV. THOMAS ALLEN.

Boston, September 29th, 1829.

MY DEAR SIR,

I thank you for your letter of the 9th instant, and I greatly rejoice that your attention is directed, with so much earnestness, to the condition of the poor, and to the means of their improvement and happiness. You have but just begun, you say, to cultivate an acquaintance with them, and have much to learn upon the important question, of the best means of doing them good. I, too, am but a learner upon this question. But I have the advantage of the experience of a few years in the service of the poor; and I shall be glad and grateful indeed, if, by giving you the results of this experience, I may, in any degree, assist you in the course of benevolent exertion, to which you have devoted yourself.

Let me, however, frankly state to you, that I know little of poverty, or of the poor, except as I have seen them in Boston. You will perhaps say, that there is but little difference in the condition of this class of our fellow beings, in any large city. In some respects, without doubt, this is true. But in others, I apprehend, it is not true. In some of our large cities, there has been a much greater influx of poor foreigners, even in proportion to the native population, than in others. And not only is the amount of poverty thus increased, and of course, its necessary sufferings; but there is also, probably, more than a proportionate increase of vice, and

of the miseries of vice. In some cities, also, trade and commerce are for a time more active, than in others; and the demand for labour there, is consequently greater. The industrious poor can, therefore, more easily obtain support for themselves, and for their families. And, besides these causes, there are others, which may occasion great suffering for a few weeks, or a few months; and may make the city in which they occur, for a while, to be a scene of greater distress, than may be felt in others, and perhaps not very distant cities, in the same season. I refer to the circumstances, for example, that, for a considerable time, rents, and certain articles of food, may be held at the prices of a time of prosperity, while the demand for labour is so much lessened, that a very large part even of the virtuous poor may not be able to obtain the employment, by which they can pay for a home, and subsistence for their families. This, in truth, is at this very time a fact in Boston. I think that it is not so, or at least, not in an equal degree, in Philadelphia. And I know that every one in Cincinnati, who is disposed to work, may even now not only support his family, but that there is a demand there for labourers, beyond the supply of them. The circumstances, however, in which one or two cities differ, in respect to the condition of the poor, are, without doubt, of much less importance, than those in which they resemble each other. You, will, I am sure, be able to give me much and important instruction, by your observations on the state of the poor, in your own city. And I shall be happy if I can throw any light upon your path, by any suggestions I may offer in regard to those, by whom I am myself surrounded.

You have confined the inquiries in your letter to two topics. The first is, "The inadequacy of the wages generally paid to seamstresses, spoolers, spinners, shoe binders, &c. to pay rent, and to purchase food and clothing." The second is, "The effects of these inadequate wages upon the happiness and morals, not merely of those females, but of their families, when they have any; and the probability that these low wages frequently force poor women to the choice between dishonour, and the absolute want of common necessaries."—To arrive at any satisfactory results on these topics, we must, however, look beyond them, to the elementary principles of wages; and to the connected circumstances, physical and moral, which have an important bearing upon the wants, the virtue and vice, and, therefore, upon the happiness and misery of the poor.

In the first place, then, let us consider the doctrine of wages in its more extended application. By following it back into its principles, we shall understand more clearly, not only how far the sins and sufferings of the poor, at any time, are to be ascribed principally to the inadequacy of their wages to the support of their families; but, how far it is even practicable at any time, to accomplish an important change in the rate of their wages. And in this course of inquiry, we shall best ascertain what are the true means, and the only true means, of doing for them, and to them, the greatest, the most extensive, and the most permanent good. I am aware that I have thus brought you to the verge of a wide field of observation. But be not discouraged, for I have no thought of attempting thoroughly to explore it. I shall but direct your at-

tention to some of the objects in it, of which, as I have thought much, I must speak in the language of conviction respecting them.

Let me then remind you, that the classes are very numerous, of those who are wholly dependent upon wages. They would, indeed, be numerous, if we looked for them among those only who have no trade, and who are generally distinguished alone, as labouring men. This large division includes shop, market, and other porters; carmen; those who are employed in lading, and unlading vessels; wood-sawyers; hod-carriers; house servants; those employed by mechanics in a single branch of their business; and multitudes, who are men and women of any work, occasionally required in families, as washing, scouring, &c.; or on the wharves, or in the streets of the city. Besides these, the number is great of those, who are journeymen, and many of whom will never be any thing but journeymen, in the various mechanic arts; and considerable numbers are also employed in the different departments of large manufactories, who possess no capital; and who know, and will continue to know, little or nothing in any other department of these establishments, except that in which they are themselves employed. All these, in the strictest sense, and in the common acceptation of the term, are dependent on the wages which they can obtain for their services. But even this view of the subject does not comprehend the whole of it. Let us then change our position for a moment, and look at it in its more extended relations.

Wages are defined to be "the hire paid for time, talents and labour, employed in the creation of a pro-

duct of industry."* In this view of it, the term comprehends *salaries;* and extends to the hire that is paid for every service, that is performed for a stated price. The terms, *interest*, *rent*, and *wages*, express receipts in the various forms in which returns are made, or income is produced, by *industry*, by *land*, and by *capital*. All income, therefore, which is independent of land, or of capital possessed, or improved, in the sense in which the political economist views it, is *wages*. This view of the subject is important. For although the principles by which wages are graduated, or affected, admit of some modifications: for example, in the services in which rare and distinguished talents are wanted, and in which they cannot be increased according to the demand there may be for them;—yet, with these exceptions, the principles which affect wages in one class, must, and will, more or less, affect them in all the other classes of a community. They who are hired, and receive wages, in the service of government, and are appointed to offices which involve, or are supposed to involve, great and peculiar responsibility; and they too, who receive wages as the ministers of religion; and some others, who act as the agents of great establishments, which require peculiar intelligence, skill, or tried uprightness, as well as time, may not suffer, and generally do not suffer, in the temporary checks and changes of commerce, trade, manufactures, and agriculture, as others suffer, for whose services there is a demand exactly proportioned to the state of trade and commerce, of manufactures, and of agriculture; and of whom there is always a very speedy sup-

* Say's Catechism of Political Economy, Chap. Wages.

ply, equal at least to the demand, and generally beyond it. Besides, the salaries, or wages, which are given to those who act in these offices, do not depend on the interest, or the will, of a single individual. Men in these departments of labour, are generally appointed by large numbers; or, if by a few, it is by those who feel that great interests are concerned in the question, of the change of a labourer, to whom a large hire is given. But so it is not with a labourer of more common talents, who is hired by an individual, and who is employed in a work for which another may easily be substituted. He, whether he be a clerk or a porter, a journeyman, or a scavenger, must work for the wages that he can get; and these will be proportioned to the existing demand for his service. He may even be obliged to live without work, because he may not be able to obtain the work that he can do. This is not theory, but simple fact. And we must look at facts as they are on all subjects, if we would rightly comprehend, and act wisely in regard to them.

The principles which determine the rate of wages, and the ease or difficulty of obtaining them, may be reduced to two. The first is, the proportion which the supply of labourers bears to the existing demand for them. The second is, the price of rent, and of food and clothing; or, in other words, of the means of subsistence.

These, however, are general principles, and they are derived only from general facts. It is, indeed, with general principles, and general facts alone, that the political economist concerns himself. "The price of labour," says Malthus,* "when left to find its na-

* Essay on Population, vol. ii. pp. 155—157.

tural level, is a most important political barometer, expressing the relation between the price of provisions, and the demand for them; between the quantity to be consumed, and the number of consumers; and, taken in the average, independently of accidental circumstances, it further expresses clearly the wants of the society respecting population." But it is one thing to arrive at correct *general principles*, on this great subject, so intimately affecting the condition and happiness of many ten thousands of our fellow beings; and it is quite another thing to settle the principles, which are applicable to those "accidental circumstances," which are of frequent occurrence; and which sometimes occasion a most serious temporary depression of wages, and even *an utter inability to obtain labour, while the price both of rent, and of provisions, is long kept above the level of the price of labour.* There are times, indeed, when the hire of labour finds its natural level, or its fair proportion to the prices of rent, and of provisions. But, suppose the case, that it should fall below this level. Suppose even, that by any peculiar combination of causes, extending their depressing influence at once, to commerce and trade, to agriculture, and to manufactures, many thousands should be thrown out of employment, or should find it impracticable to obtain the employment, by which they might pay their rent, and feed, and clothe their families. Or, suppose, even still further, that under this general depression, there should be in a large city, at once double the number of labourers required for its services, while the price of rent continued to be, what it was in the most prosperous times; and, while butchers' meat, and some other articles of food, were

at best reduced but little below their old prices. It requires no prophet's eye to see, that here must necessarily be a greatly increased amount of suffering. The political economist looks upon the checks and embarrassments, which produced this suffering, as "accidental circumstances;" and speaks of this suffering, as "a transient evil."* But in truth, it sometimes comprehends more than any language can describe. Nor is it a mere vagary of the imagination, that such a state of things may exist. I have said, that I know little of poverty, and of the poor, but as I have seen, and as I daily see them, in Boston. But that which exists here, may also, and probably will, in a greater or less degree, sometimes at least, be found elsewhere. Let us then bring before us the facts on the subject, as they are to be seen within this narrow circle. In other words, the present state of wages, and the present condition of the poor, in Boston,—what are they?

We are now suffering greatly, from the checks which have been given to our trade and commerce, and from the failure of some of our large manufacturing establishments. We deplore this state of things, in view of the losses it has occasioned to some of our capitalists; the utter ruin of some, who, a short time since, thought themselves secure in the possession of an ample fortune; the difficulties and embarrassments of many of our men in trade; and of many, too, of our enterprising mechanics. But, should we forget the number, ten times larger, of those who have no capital but time and industry; who have no resource for self-support, but their daily labour; and who, in a failure of

* Say's Political Economy, B. 1, Chap. 7, p. 31.

demand for their services, are at once brought to great, and perhaps, to utter want? To every friend of the order and security of society, be he a Christian, or an infidel, it is a question of deep import, what are the best means of meeting the exigencies of great and peculiar suffering among the poor? To the philanthropist, and the Christian, it involves still higher interests; and, as he dwells upon it, he will find that it calls him to still higher duties, and to more solemn responsibilities. In regard to those who have lost much, but who still retain much, the real evil of their condition, with respect to their losses, may not in fact be great. The remedy of their difficulties, is also within their own reach; for their very sufferings, if wisely improved by them, or, in other words, if they shall be excitements to greater prudence and activity, and to a wiser economy, may even be means of securing them a greater abundance, than they possessed before they met with these losses. But I believe that I may state with confidence, that in consequenee of the improved machinery, which is now used in printing, and by the substitution of boys and girls, for men, in the work of printing offices, there are at this time, or within the past summer there have been, in our city, *between two and three hundred journeymen printers, who have been able at best, to obtain but occasional employment in the occupation, in which they have been educated.* I am assured, too, that *there are as many as two hundred journeymen carpenters, and in all, not less than a thousand journeymen mechanics, in the same condition.* And of day labourers, in all the departments of their service, the supply is at least twice beyond the demand. Nor is the difficulty less, nor the distress, which is expe-

rienced by the very large class of females, comprehending some hundreds, who have families depending on them; and who themselves depend for their own, and the support of their families, either upon their needle, or some other daily labour. I have recently been told, by a very respectable keeper of a slop-shop, that he has for some time past, had fifty applications a day from females, for work with which he could not supply them; and *the work sought by them, is, course shirts, to be made at ten, eight, or even six and a quarter cents each; or labourers' frocks, or duck pantaloons, at the same prices.* Now let it be considered, that there are among us hundreds of these poor females, mothers, and widows, who are deeply anxious to support their families, by their own exertions; but who, even while their families are in health, and when employment can be obtained for every hour in every day, can at best, earn but a dollar, or a dollar and a quarter in a week; who yet, however, are sometimes taken off from their labours by their own, or the sickness of their children; and often, even when they are all in health, cannot obtain more than two or three days work in a week. In this state of things, the prices of rent, of food and of clothing, ought to come down to the level of wages; or, if the price of day wages has not yet essentially lessened, to the level of the difficulty of obtaining employment, and thus of obtaining wages. And so they will, if this state of things shall be of long continuance.* Nor have we reason to complain, even as far

* Wages, in some departments of labour, have in some measure been lessened. The pressure, however, has not yet continued long enough, to bring them down generally to the level of

as the poor are concerned, of the price of clothing, and of some important articles of food. But while the rents of such houses as are occupied by the rich, and by the middling classes of society, of which we have in fact more than are sufficient to meet demands for them, have come down in some proportion to the general depression of trade and commerce, the rents of the poor continue to be as high, as they have been for some years past; for the very plain reason, that houses of the kind, rented by the poor, are rather below, than above, the demand for them. It is not easy to obtain a room, either in a garret or cellar, and however small, inconvenient, and unfit to live in, at fifty cents per week. Nor are there many to be had for sixty-two and a half, or seventy-five cents a week.* The common price of a room is a dollar a week; of a room and bed-room, a dollar and twenty-five cents; and, where larger accommodations are required, and sometimes, at least, they seem to be absolutely required, the rent is proportionally higher. It is also an important circumstance in this connexion, that the houses which are occupied by this class of our population, to a considerable extent, are not let to them by their owners. An owner lets his house to one, who becomes responsible for the whole rent; and who, it may be, retains certain rooms

demand. They are kept up, in part, by the high price of rent; and quite as much, or more, by the liberal spirit of employers. A considerable number of those who depend on wages for their support, have, also, within a short time, left the city; by which the poor who remain are in some measure benefited, a greater number of them being thus enabled to find employment.

* The case is not quite so bad in Philadelphia. None of our poor pay more than fifty cents per week.—Editor.

in it for his own family. The object in taking the whole house, in this case, is, to obtain his own lodgings, at the smallest possible price. Aware, therefore, as the renter is, that he may lose by some of his tenants, he requires the highest price from each, that he may be as secure as possible against ultimate loss. And these rents are generally demanded at the end of every week, and sometimes in advance, as the only condition of obtaining a room. Under this system, rent is obtained, if an amount equal to it can be earned in the week. There are, without doubt, cases in which a considerable amount of rent is lost. But, as a general fact, it is paid, not only when it absorbs every cent that is earned, but often by the sale of one and another article of furniture, that can possibly be spared, and without the sacrifice of which, a home could not be retained. There are great numbers of mothers, widows, who would now, if they could, go into service in families. But they must hire a room, because they must provide a home for their children.—Let us then look at these facts, in view of the questions, what is the tendency, and what are the dangers, of a time of peculiar distress among the poor? And, what are the best provisions that can be made for the remedy, or relief of the evils, to which they, and society around them, are thus exposed?

First, what is the tendency, and what are the dangers, of a time of peculiar distress among the poor?

Among the poor, there is all the diversity of character, which is to be found in the other classes of society; and, I am happy in being able to bear my testimony to the fact, that there are those among them, who, under all the depression, the discouragements, and

sufferings of their condition, have a strength of religious principle, a purity of religious sentiment, and a consequent energy and fortitude, which would do honour to those in the most favoured conditions of human life. As far as respects *them*, the tendency and the danger of a time of peculiar want and distress excites no very strong feeling of alarm, in the minds of those who know them. But this is not a very large class. There are far more of those, who are to be recognised as virtuous poor, and who are not only honest, temperate, and industrious, but to an important extent, pious, who yet have not very great strength of character; and, who are not *safe* in the day of very great trial. They are able, and willing to work; and, while the employment can be obtained, by which they may pay their rent, and get food and clothing for themselves and their children, they not only would not ask for charity, but many of them would prefer not to receive it. But if, by their best exertions, they cannot pay their rent; or, if their wages will not enable them to provide for their absolute necessities, or for those of their children, the sentiments of piety, which they thought were deeply laid in their hearts, are shaken. They look about them for the causes of their sufferings; and some will trace the evil to its true causes. But some, too, will think that they find them, in the insensibility of the rich, to the wants and sufferings of the poor. Discontent, envy, jealousy and resentment are awakened. And feeling, as they do, that they cannot obtain redress from those, from whom they think that the injury proceeds, they seek their satisfaction, in the secret indulgence of their irritated feelings; and, in the expression of these feelings, when

they have an opportunity to express them. Does this seem to any one to be mere theory, or a creation of fancy? Here is a wife, whose husband, very feeble in health, under the best circumstances can earn but little; and often, for successive days, can absolutely earn nothing. She has two, or three, or four young children, and she supported them comfortably, while she could find employment. But she cannot now find it more than two or three days in a week. Again: Here is a widow, she has three, or four, or five children. She goes from one to another of the slop-shops to seek for work, and from day to day cannot obtain it. Or, she occasionally gets a dozen shirts, or a dozen pair of pantaloons, or a dozen of truckmen's frocks to make; and the highest price to be received for her labour, the very hard labour of a week,—and with some it is the labour of ten or twelve days,—is a dollar and twenty cents. Here is one more tried, more unhappy than a widow. She has an intemperate husband; the whole charge of supporting her family is upon her; and yet, with the best dispositions to industry, and the best efforts for employment, she cannot earn more than half of what is required, to secure a home and food for those who are dependent on her. And, here is another, with an honest and temperate, but inefficient husband; of whom it is very doubtful whether he earns sufficient for his own sustenance. She, too, is struggling with the same embarrassments; and enduring all a mother's sufferings, who would, but cannot, provide for the wants of her children. And, even again: Here are a husband and wife, whose united efforts,—and neither of them fail in effort,—are often insufficient for the support of their family during the pass-

ing week, because they cannot procure employment in the only services of which they are capable. These, I repeat, with the exception of the intemperate husband to whom I have referred, in an important sense are *virtuous poor*. And they are the representatives of many. Nor have I at all exaggerated their embarrassments, and sufferings. And who will say that ordinary virtue, or even that virtue in which he might confide under happier circumstances, is secure amidst such difficulties, and such temptations? How many of those, who have no mean opinion of their own virtue, may be confident that they would themselves retain all the heroism of their own resolution in duty, if, through successive weeks, or successive months, they should be dependent on daily labour for daily bread, and often be unable to find the service, by which bread could be obtained for their children; if often, for weeks and months they had but the choice, for the subsistence of their families, to beg, to borrow, or to steal? And if, in addition to these sufferings of many virtuous poor, we consider the wants and distresses which they experience, either when they are themselves confined by sickness, or when their children are sick, and requiring all their time, and thought, and care, it will be felt, I think, that the exposures of their virtue are neither few nor small;—that, in truth, they demand the most solemn regard of those, who know any thing of human weakness, or propensity to evil, and who have any interest in the cause of human virtue, salvation and happiness.

From these turn your attention to another class. Of the intemperate, there are very many who depend, for themselves and their families, upon daily wages. And

there are very many too, who are not confirmedly intemperate, who are even regarded as sober men, who consider themselves, and are considered, as honest men; and who have no means of support except their daily earnings. Suppose these earnings, then, to fail them. The journeyman mechanic, or the handcartman, or the day-labourer, traverses the streets and wharves for work, and from day to day returns home as empty-handed as when he left it, because he could find no work to do; and, at the end of the week or month, cannot pay his rent, or the debt which has been incurred at the grocer's. Is his moral condition a safe one? Is it not rather full of danger? Is not the man, who would have revolted at the thought that he would ever have become a drunkard, most alarmingly exposed to the sin and misery of living, and dying a drunkard? And ought it to surprise us, if the honesty of many of these men, who have been very partially educated; the best security of whose uprightness, perhaps, has been in the maxim, that honesty is the best policy; and who, it may be, have overcome some small temptations to benefit themselves by the injury of others, and have thus gathered some strength to their virtue in the days of abundant labour; ought it to surprise us, if in these circumstances, the honesty of many of this class should fail them; and if, in a time of adversity, of perplexity, of great embarrassment and want, and when they know not where to look for employment, or for provision for their families, they should be driven by their wants to crime? I would not, under any circumstances, be the apologist of crime. But it will not require a long acquaintance with the poor, in a time of prevailing distress, to know that what I have here stated is fact. The

want of employment brings those who would otherwise be industrious, to association with the idle and dissipated. Excited by embarrassments abroad, and by trouble at home, they seek oblivion of their sufferings in that, which seems to them, for the time, to be the smaller evil,—I mean, intoxication. And, when once thus given up to intemperance, what evils may not be dreaded? Prosperity, without doubt, is attended with many and great exposures of virtue. But great and pressing want, for which not even the best dispositions to labour can secure a provision, may drive him, or her, who suffers it, to the greatest sins; and expose society to all that is to be feared, from an unbridled license in crime.

Nor are these the only evils to be apprehended in a time of great and extensive suffering among the poor. The number is always considerable, in this class of the population of a large city, of those who maintain little or no discipline at home; and whose children, in consequence either of the gross negligence of parents, or their excessive fondness, or their equally excessive severity, are exposed to all that is to be dreaded in a life of ungoverned passion, and of vice. There are many, too, the children of widows, who rejecting maternal control, and becoming early the associates of idlers and vagrants, at ten and twelve years of age, are profane, false, and dishonest; who have already begun to love ardent spirits, and can talk flippantly of the lewdness, of which it would be thought that they could yet hardly form a conception. And there are children, who have faithful mothers,—mothers who are at least anxious to do what they can for their children's virtue,—but whose fathers are not to them *as fa-*

thers; and who are even more rapidly carried on in the career of sin, from which maternal influence is insufficient to restrain them, by the daily example of a profane and intemperate parent. Among all the objects of a philanthropist, no one has stronger claims, than the salvation of these children. Even in a time of prosperity, the number of girls, as well as of boys, who are thus constantly exposed to moral ruin, is alarmingly great. And if we add to these, who are living with their parents, the large number of boys, who, while they can only, and very imperfectly read and write, and have not begun to cipher, are taken from school to be placed in shops and offices, not as apprentices, but as errand boys, and who will therefore grow up in ignorance, and probably be alone the associates of vicious boys; and of girls who are put to service at twelve, and fourteen years of age, in families in which their education and their virtue are unregarded;—the number of children of the poor, in a large city, demanding the most solemn interest in their dangers, and the most earnest efforts for their rescue, will be considerably enlarged. Some of the children to whom I refer, are truants from our schools. Some are kept at home by their parents, either to gather chips, or to beg, or to be market boys. And some are suffered by their parents to live where they will, and as they will, provided only that they occasion to them as little inconvenience as may be. What, then, in these various families, must be the effects on children, of a time of great and pressing want, when it shall scarcely be practicable, by any honest occupation, to obtain the means of subsistence? Can it be doubted, whether the number of young vagrants, in such a time, will be

greatly increased? Or, is it doubted, whether they will be proportionally more dishonest, or more reckless in the sins to which they have become accustomed? This, to my mind, is one of the most affecting of the aspects of a time of great distress among the poor; and unless, at such a time, some strong means shall be used to prevent the evil, it will be found that a few months only of peculiar want and difficulty will be sufficient, to add a large per centage to the amount of future crime, and wretchedness.

There is a view of this subject, which, if it could be brought distinctly before the public, could hardly fail, I think, at once to make a deep and strong impression of the moral dangers of a large class of children in our cities, now but too little regarded by us; and to excite an active sympathy for the families to which they belong. I refer to the disclosures which might be obtained, of the causes of crime, by a careful examination and comparison of the cases of juvenile offences, which are brought before our Police Courts. Ask the magistrates of these courts, from whence come the children who are arraigned before them for pilfering, and whom they are every week sending to the Refuge, or to Prison? They will tell you, that three fourths of them are from families, which have looked to these children *for a part of their means of support.* And if they have looked into these cases, they will tell you also, that some of these children have been kept from school, that they might beg; and others, that by any service they might earn a dollar a week, to be appropriated for the payment of rent, or for the purchase of necessary food. Is it asked, from whence arises the dependence of these parents upon their children? I an-

swer, often, without doubt, from the idleness and intemperance of the parents. But not always. There are cases, and very affecting cases, in which poor mothers, widows, who have three, four, or five children, who must be sheltered, and fed, and clothed, and warmed; and for whom they cannot, by their best labours, provide a home, and the absolute necessaries of existence. These children, to a considerable extent, form a distinct class. They have other associations with life, and form other habits, than the children who are in a regular course of education at school. They have much time, every day, which they know not how to appropriate to any useful purpose; and they are every day at once surrounded by temptations to dishonesty, while passion, and appetite, and all the lower propensities of our nature are developing within them, and maturing under the influences, which are most suited to make them the governing principles in the mind.—I pity the man who can look upon all this evil, and say that these parents alone are accountable for it. No: there is not an individual in society, who can minister to the removal, or to the melioration of it, who has not a share of accountableness for it. If there are families who thus give up their children to moral ruin, while yet they are able to educate and to provide for them, there should be an authority in society, which may compel the parent to do his duty. And if there are parents, —and I know that there are such,—who are honest, temperate and industrious, but who are either unable to find the work by which they may support their children, or who cannot, even by constant labour, feed, and clothe, and educate them, these parents and their children, as far as it is necessary for these objects,

should be assisted by others. For the present, I leave the question, what is the provision which should be made for them? Let us first look at facts, and then seek for the principles to which they should lead us.

You ask me, whether the wages given to poor females do not often force them to the choice between dishonour, and the absolute want of common necessaries? I have no doubt but this is one of the causes, by which some of the daughters of poor parents are brought to ruin. There are, however, other causes of the crimes and miseries of the poor, which lie far deeper than the question of the effects of high, or of low wages, upon their condition and character. The truth is, that the moral and religious instruction of this class of the population of cities has hardly, till within a short time, engaged even the smallest interest; and even now there is not a city in Christendom, in which it has obtained the attention which it claims. The poor, therefore, have lived, and to a great extent are living, as *a caste*,—cut off from those in more favoured circumstances; and doomed to find their pleasures, and sympathy in their sufferings, alone among themselves.

But although, of the large number of most melancholy cases of female depravity, which have fallen under my notice, I cannot say with confidence of any one, that I should ascribe it *principally* to the difficulty of obtaining a subsistence by honest industry; yet I would ask any one to go into the families of forty, or fifty of those, who depend upon their daily labour for their daily bread; and to hear there of the applications which are sometimes made for work, which they cannot obtain; and of the wants, and sufferings which are

felt, even when, by the unremitted toil of a week, they have earned a dollar, or at most, a dollar and a half. They owe a few dollars of rent, which they cannot pay. Their clothing is hardly sufficient for warmth in the cold of autumn, and how much less in that of winter? And they know not how, or where, to obtain more. Their food is often scanty, as well as of the coarsest kind. They are dunned, and threatened, and harassed; and now appease a creditor by the sale of one article of their poor furniture, and now of another. They pass a few months in one place, and then are compelled to seek a shelter elsewhere. Is not such a situation too perilous for human virtue? And here are female children, some of whose parents would be thought respectable, if they were not so very poor, living in the very neighbourhood of all that is unprincipled, and profligate; daily exposed to the gaze, and to the address, of the lowest and basest of our race. Would it not then be passing strange, if some of them, by what they see and hear abroad, and by what they suffer at home, should not be seduced, and betrayed to their ruin? I have said, that there are those among the poor, who have an energy, a fortitude, a resolution in virtue, which do honour to our nature. And many children,—many suffering daughters of greatly distressed mothers, furnish noble examples of all that is excellent in filial, and in Christian piety. But there are weak children,—intellectually and morally weak, I mean,—wayward and passionate children; impatient of restraint; and vain, giddy, and light-minded children, even in the families of the pious poor. Pinched, then, pious as they sometimes are, by want at home, and seeing others whom they have known to be as destitute as

themselves, abundantly provided with the gratification which they most want, they overlook,—they wish not to know, the degradation and misery which are concealed under the appearance of comparative abundance, and happiness. They are offered the wages of guilt, and they accept them.—Who can doubt whether some, if not many, might have been saved from the ruin into which they have thus fallen, if they could have found regular employment with their parents at home; and if the united labours of the parents and children could have secured to them a comfortable subsistence? On this question, at least, I have no doubt. The heart of one parent sinks and sickens under the discouragements of want, while that of another is exasperated and made desperate. And the children, unless more happily constituted than children generally are, will be given up to the influence of their own prevailing passions. Under such circumstances, if assailed by strong temptation, what is their security? Or, will it be wonderful if they are lost?

I cannot, however, confine my views to a single aspect of this subject. The opportunity is a favourable one, and I will not lose it, to speak freely to you of the prevailing licentiousness of our cities. The cases are not few,—and I have come to the knowledge of too many of them, in which young women, who come from the country for service in the city, and who bring here all the truth and artlessness of a virtuous country life, are seduced, despoiled, destroyed, by profligate and base young men, who yet call themselves *gentlemen!* These young women come here in the simple attire, and with the simple manners, of the country. But they soon learn, that, to be the companions of their

equals, they must in dress be the rivals of their mistresses. Their taste, therefore, is first corrupted, and then, their manners. They attract the attention of the prowlers who are seeking for them. They are offered the bribe of dishonour, and are the victims of reckless perfidy and lust. I would that these base, these unprincipled destroyers of innocence, and that every votary of licentious pleasure, could see, as I have seen, the deep, the hopeless depravity, to which they have brought the victims of their passions; and whose ruin, in the books of heaven, is already charged upon *their* souls. I would that they could see, as I have seen, the unutterable wretchedness of her, who, in the feeling that she has lost all by which the confidence of the world is to be obtained, knows not where to look for support; while under the upbraidings of an awakened conscience, she revolts with horror from the thought of returning to her guilty course. What shall she do? Where shall she go? How dreadful the conflict within her! How agonizing her condition! Would that every young man, when he is tempted to enter the haunts of guilty pleasure, could see, as I have *seen*, the anguish of a father, seeking the recovery of a guilty son; and witness the writhings of a mother's heart, while she is imploring the sympathy and assistance of a stranger, for the salvation of him, whom she has nursed at her bosom, and for whose salvation she would gladly give up her own life! O, would that the destroyer of a daughter's virtue could see, as I have *seen*, a mother seeking for her lost, her prostituted child! Would that he could feel, but for one hour, the desolation of that mother's soul! He may now be heedless of the misery he has occasioned; of the ruin he has accomplished.

But, if he shall ever regain his lost conscience, be it here, or hereafter, he will find within himself a hell, the agonies of which, had he but understood them, he would not have incurred, even for ten thousand lives of unchecked profligacy.

But there are still other causes which minister to this guilt and misery. From the tavern bar, from the tippling shop, and the gambling house, the passage is short, and always open, which leads to the deepest sinks of human infamy. At the tavern bar, in the tippling shop, and in the gambling house, to which young men are allured; where their basest passions are excited, and where the restraints of domestic discipline, and the pleasures of domestic affection and virtue are lost; where parental solicitude, and interest, and love are forgotten, or are remembered but to be shaken from the mind as an incumbrance, which vice cannot support; where debt is incurred, for relief from which, the resort is dishonesty; and where a desperation of mind is produced, under the influence of which it is felt, that the most effectual refuge from the misery of crime is, to go as deeply into crime, as they may with hope of safety;—here it is that many, who might have been the unspeakable treasure and joy of the hearts of their parents; who might have been respectable and respected, useful and prosperous, beloved and happy, and the honour and strength of those with whom God has connected them, have been and are deluded, and corrupted; have been made the murderers of their fathers' and mothers' peace, the bane of the community in which they live, and the destroyers of their own, and of the souls of their depraved associates. Here it is that they are prepared for those pits of destruction, the receptacles

of prostituted females. Nor among the most zealous to do good in this world, is there more watchfulness and effort employed for the prevention of evil, than is maintained by the keepers and inmates of these houses of abandoned women, to beguile to them young men, whom they may bring to their own measure of crime and degradation.—I wish to write calmly, dispassionately of these great evils, difficult as it is to repress the indignation which they awaken; for I would address myself to the intelligent, to the discriminating, to the virtuous, who will look at the whole subject with a calm and steady eye; and who will bring their best judgment to bear upon the question, how may we most extensively, and most effectually check, if we may not completely remedy, this worst of all the evils of cities? They ought to be understood, as they are not, by every inhabitant of cities. And the combined intelligence and virtue of every parent, and of every friend to virtue in a city, be he young or old, be he a parent, or childless, ought to be arrayed against them.

I have referred to the agency of the female keepers, and of the inmates, of houses of bad fame, in seducing young *men* to a life of profligacy, and, I believe that, to this same agency, may immediately be attributed the seduction of far the greatest numbers of the prostituted of their own sex. At least, this is the cause to which the largest number of these unhappy beings, whom I have known, have ascribed their ruin. Of all God's creation of which I have any knowledge, I have met with no being of any comparative hardihood, or of any comparative capacity in guilt, with that of an abandoned woman. These keepers walk our streets in the dress of ladies; and, if in want of "boarders,"

for so the inmates of their houses are called,—they will ask a poor girl whom they meet, if she *wants a place?* And, if she answers that she does, the unsuspecting victim is directed to the abode of sin, where, if it shall be possible, her destruction will be accomplished. I have known a girl who was sent to our House of Correction, when she was only fifteen years old, who had thus been inveigled; and who was almost at once transferred from the pandemonium to which a base woman had directed her for service, to the prison in which I met with her. And the inmates of these houses invite there those with whom they are acquainted, holding out to them all the attractions of society and liberty. God help the poor girl, who at once finds it difficult, or impracticable, to support herself by her labours, who is but feebly established in principle, and is exposed to an acquaintance with any of the abandoned of her own sex. If she shall but be brought into the connexion of an hour with one of these female fiends, who are going about seeking the ruin of such as she is, her danger of irretrievable destruction is most imminent. I have but recently attended upon the sick bed of one of the poor girls, who has thus been deluded, and lost. She is twenty-four years old; a child of respectable parents in the country, and she came to this city, "to learn the trade of a milliner." While working in a milliner's shop, she became acquainted with a young woman, who frequently went there for articles of dress; with whom, after a time, she would occasionally walk; and by whom, at length, she was conducted to the "boarding-house," of her companion. From that day, virtue and peace were lost. After about three years of progress in sin, she is now on the verge of the grave, into

which she will very soon fall, to appear before her final Judge; where she will meet her who first beguiled, and soon also, him who despoiled her. I asked her, 'where now is she who led you astray?' Her reply was, 'she is dead.' 'And have many,' I asked, 'of those with whom you have lived in transgression, also died young?' 'Yes,' was her answer; 'they die very soon.' It was thought expedient to remove this young woman into the country. I asked her, if she would be carried home? 'O, no,' she said; 'I have not seen my mother these two years, and I could not now bear to see her.'—In a manner not very dissimilar, I doubt not that many poor girls in this city, and in all our cities, are every year immolated, and lost among us.

In following back the seduction, the dishonour and ruin, both of young men, and young women, to their causes, it is not to be forgotten, and it ought to be known to those to whom it is not known, that every lure of which profligacy can avail itself, is employed, to give attraction to the first scenes and circumstances of that course of life, which is soon to end in the deepest degradation and wretchedness. Outward appearances alone being regarded, there is not a stronger contrast exhibited in human life, than in the condition of her, who is brought into the highest class of profligates, and who is receiving the most ample hire of prostitution; and of her, the same individual,—who has descended step by step into the poor, filthy residences, where the lowest of her own sex, with scarcely garments to cover them, the wretched victims of loathsome disease, are daily deadening more and more the little sensibility which remains to them, by intemperance, profaneness and riot;—and are there the companions of men, as

lost to virtue, to shame, and to all that is human, as themselves. From these most miserable abodes, and these most degraded of human beings, there seems indeed little to be apprehended in respect to the virtuously educated among the young. There is nothing conceivable more disgusting, more revolting, than is to be seen there. But there are resorts of impurity, as well for the rich as for the poor; for him or her who is taking the first step in this way to death, as well as for the worn and hardy sensualist, who is brought as near as man can be, to the extinction of all the principles of his moral nature. I know, indeed, that there are some, who pass at once,—or seemingly pass at once, into the lowest recesses of pollution and crime. But, for the most part, at least, they have been familiar with the language and spectacle of crime, even from their childhood. They have lived in the neighbourhood, and have breathed the air of guilt, and have perhaps been fed with its earnings, before they ever heard there was such a thing as virtue. There are, however, other and very different habitations of abandoned women. There are houses of ill fame, which cannot be supported but at a great expense; and which, yet, are from year to year supported in all our cities; and with equal prodigality in a time of great and general depression, as in seasons of the greatest prosperity. There are houses, in which abandoned women are living in comparative luxury, and splendor; living apparently at their ease, and possessed of abundant means to gratify their tastes and humours; and where young men and young women, of whom better things might have been hoped, are allured to the wreck of their virtue and their souls. And from whence come these attractions to sin, these re-

wards of prostitution? How are these houses supported? And how are their inmates,—"the boarders" there, enabled to indulge in all the extravagancies of dress, which dazzle and bewilder those, who, when they can obtain employment, can earn but a dollar, or a dollar and a half in a week; and who sometimes are in want of the apparel, which is important for their comfort, or at least for that which they consider as a decent appearance, because they cannot find employment? Here, here is a sin, which cries to heaven,—I will not say for vengeance, but, for a most fearful retribution; and as surely as God is a moral Governor, the day of retribution for this sin will come upon the guilty. And who, I ask again, are the guilty? They are, not less the keepers, and the inmates of these houses, than their SUPPORTERS. They are the young men and the men of every age, the single and the married men, who at once furnish the means of this guilty luxury; and who are, in the sight of God, the destroyers of the bodies and the souls of those, to whose corruption they are the ministers. I speak plainly on this subject, because it demands plainness. I know that some of the sons of men of fortune here basely squander the treasure, which their fathers' industry and enterprise have accumulated; and that young men who cannot avail themselves of their fathers' property, for the support of all this sin, are gratifying their base propensities by the robbery of their masters, and by overwhelming themselves with debt.—I cannot enlarge on this topic. I would only show, that the evil is various in its causes, and that great numbers are concerned in these causes. And this view of the subject

is important, because, in a more partial consideration of it, we shall not arrive at the most effectual means of resisting, and of checking the evil; and why should we look at the evil at all, if nothing is to be attempted for its remedy?

Unprepared, therefore, as I am to speak with confidence of the extent of the influence of the low wages, for which females are often compelled to work, and of the difficulty which they often find of obtaining work, even at the small prices which are given for it, in leading them to dishonour and crime, I have yet no doubt that this is one of the causes, by which several are brought to debasement and ruin. I would to God, indeed, that it were the children of the poor only, or that it were those of the rich alone, who are thus falling into the deepest depravity! But, in truth, the contagion spreads to not a few of all classes. My attention, however, is called peculiarly to the moral exposures of the poor; to the exposures to crime and misery, which are incidental to poverty. In view of the remedy of the evil, let it then be our first inquiry, may any means be devised of raising the wages of the poor, and thus of improving their condition, by enabling them more entirely to provide for their own support?

To this question, I think, every political economist would unhesitatingly say, no. For, if the proportion which the supply of labourers whether male or female, bears to the existing demand for them, be small, wages will be high. If, on the other hand, the number of labourers be essentially greater than the demand for them, wages will be low. These are elementary principles; and, considered as general principles, we cannot

reverse them.* The change from low to high, or from high to low wages, will not always be very exactly graduated by the supply of labour to the demand for it.

* The doctrine here held by the reverend writer, although generally correct, must be read with some considerable qualification. If carried to the full extent, it would be in the power of employers, when there was a great superabundance of persons wanting work, to reduce the wages of a week to what would be necessary for the support of a single day—as the applicants for employment would, perhaps, think it better to work for even that pittance, than have no employment. And it approaches to this point, when shirts are made for ten, and six cents, as we are told is sometimes the case. On this subject, the following observations from a recent publication, on this very important subject, are submitted to public consideration.—EDITOR.

"I freely admit, that there may be cases in which even liberal men may find a change impracticable—cases in which competition may have so far reduced the price of the manufactured article, as to render a rise in the price of the labour employed on it, incompatible with that due degree of profit on capital to which it has a fair claim. In all such cases the evil is without remedy, and must be submitted to. But this is by no means the case generally. There are numbers of men who make large fortunes by the labours of this class, and who might afford, and might not be unwilling to afford, to the humble ministers of their wealth, wherewith to support themselves without the degradation of soliciting charity, or the risk of being driven to a course of wickedness, resulting in misery here and perhaps hereafter. And surely any man duly impressed with the duties of morals and religion, would rather spend ten or twenty years in making a fortune, while he was dispensing the means of happiness among his dependents, and earning their heartfelt blessings, than wring it in half the time out of the sweat and blood of those dependents, while he was entitling himself to their, 'curses, not loud but deep.'"

But there will, and necessarily must be, a constant tendency, and approximation towards it. New works may indeed be projected, for the employment of the supernumerary labourers of a city. But if, by the products of the industry thus directed, there should be a supply of these products above the demand for them, the sufferings of the poor would be deferred, by the employment thus given to them, only to be increased at a future time; for it is the very circumstance, which has thrown them out of employment, that the products to be obtained by their services are not *wanted*. The truth is, and it is not to be forgotten, that the poor do not, and never can, suffer alone. They suffer, because those who have been their employers, cannot find a market for the productions of their labour; and, in this depression of the market, or of the business which gives employment to the poor, their employers *cannot afford* to give the wages, which they can afford to give in a time of prosperity, and when there is a demand for these products of industry. I am aware, that there is in many a disposition to grind the poor; to get out of them all that they can, and to give as little for their service as they can. But, after all, the rate of wages

"It would be easy to prove, from a comparison of the prices charged to the public for the work done by the class in question, with the wages they receive, that a rise in the rate of those wages might be made, consistently with a due regard to self-interest. A few cents added to the price of making a shirt, a vest, or a pair of pantaloons, would be but a trifling deduction from the profits of the employer—but, to the employed, make all the difference between comfort and misery: what an irresistible appeal to every bosom in which exists a scintilla of justice or humanity!"—EDITOR.

does not depend on this class of employers.* It does, and it must depend, principally, upon the want of the products of the labour of the poor, and upon the proportion of the supply of labour to the demand for it. In anticipation of a winter, like that which is now before us, the tailors of our city, in order to give employment to poor females, might have a very large portion of their summer work done during the winter months. And this, without doubt, would give immediate relief to many. But it would cause a great increase of suffering through the next summer. And the results would necessarily be similar, whatever supply of work could be obtained, above the demand for it. I could not, therefore, look to any such expedients for the relief of the poor. Still, however, I would not despair of the practicability of keeping up wages, in a time of peculiar suffering, somewhat above the demand for the service of the poor. But I know of only one way in which it can be done, with any real advantage to them.

It is practicable, I doubt not, to a certain extent, to quicken the consciences of the employers of the poor

* These views are to be received *cum grano salis*. When the number of work-people greatly exceeds the demand for their labour, the persons to whom allusion is made in the text, have unfortunately great influence in lowering the rate of wages. Those who seek for employment and find great difficulty in procuring it, very frequently underbid each other. The persons alluded to avail themselves of this disposition, and reduce the rates below the usual standard. The example is followed by others, who would never have originally made any reduction. And to this case the *facilis descensus Averni*, of Virgil, fully applies. To reduce prices in such cases, is easy—to raise them extremely difficult.—Errer.

and thus to secure, on their part, a willingness to sacrifice some of their own gains, to the great objects, at once, of the virtue, and comfort of those who labour for them. I believe, indeed, that there are many, who need only to understand how great is the suffering, which is endured by the virtuous poor, at a time when they can obtain but occasional employment, and when their wages are generally reduced in inverse proportion to the demand for their work, to be willing and more than willing, to keep the hire of those who labour for them as high as it may be, consistently with any fair profits to themselves from these labours. Nothing, more, indeed, would be necessary to secure this good to the poor, in a society of Christians, than an appeal to their sense of *justice*. It is clearly required by the elementary principle of our religion, that we do to others, as we would, in a change of circumstances, that they should do to us. Let this single principle be faithfully applied, and there not only would be no oppression, but there would always be *a generous consideration of the hireling in his wages*. I know a partner in a house, which has not unfrequently given employment to eight or nine hundred women, in the coarse work of a large tailoring establishment; and I am informed by this individual, that, during the business year of 1828, this house employed, on an average, three hundred females every day; but that now, and for some months past, they have not had work for more than an average of a hundred and seventy. Within a year, however, this house has paid fifteen hundred dollars in extra wages to poor females; that is, in wages above the sum, at which they might have had the work done by the females whom they have employed, and

which has been given by many others for similar work. This house has acted upon the principle, that they ought willingly to submit to a reduction of their own profits, when such large numbers, as those whom they have employed, have found it difficult, by their own industry, to find the means even of subsistence. And, so, I think, every true Christian will act, in similar circumstances. This house has thus virtually given fifteen hundred dollars to the poor, during the past year, in the most judicious manner in which it could possibly have been given to them. Without overstocking the market, it has encouraged industry by the same means, by which it has relieved want.

The best charity which can be exercised towards those who are capable of labour, is to give them, as far as possible, the labour by which they may earn the means of their subsistence; and, whenever they are employed, amply to remunerate them for their services. And this is a charity, which might be exercised far more extensively than it is, without any interference with the general principles which regulate wages. Even in a time of great general embarrassment, there are some families among the poor, who are constantly supplied with work, and who receive a generous compensation for it. They are connected with families, which have sympathy with the condition and necessities of the poor; with families which feel that, if retrenchment be necessary, it should be begun with the expenses of the table, of dress and fashion; and, to whatever extent it is carried, and to whatever objects it is directed, that, its last application should be to the employment, and wages of those, who, by their most constant labours, can but earn the means of their support; and with whom the fai-

lure of work, or the curtailment of wages, is inevitable want, and bitter suffering, and perhaps exposure to debasement and crime. Nor are these, let me say, always, or peculiarly, the families of the rich. I have heard, indeed, very much said of retrenchment, and of economy, in rich families, where I could not trace any associations with the terms, in the minds of those who employed them, beyond the very circumstances and services, on which the poor depend for their daily bread! And I have earnestly wished that some of those, who are living in the midst of abundance, and are endeavouring to spare and save the few shillings, which have been paid to the washerwoman, or the laundress, or the seamstress, or the scourer, or the labourer of any description whom they once readily employed, and for whom they had been accustomed very easily to find something to do, would but go with me, while they are forming their plans of economy, into the families of those, who ask only to obtain any work, by which they may be saved from dependence and beggary. Economy, rightly understood, rises to the character of a Christian virtue. But what is economy? And what are its proper objects? I hold him to be an economist, in the highest sense of the term, who saves in those things in which he ought to save, that he may expend liberally in those in which he ought, according to his means, to be liberal. This is Christian economy. Let it be understood, and practised, and comparatively few of the poor will want employment. Or, whatever may be the number who would, but cannot earn the means of their subsistence, none will then suffer unheeded, or be tempted by their wants to degradation and sin.

To other means, then, of giving relief to the suffering poor, let us direct our attention. And we shall think more clearly, and justly on this subject, if we separate the poor into classes. It is not necessary, indeed, for our present purpose, to enter into all the particulars of an exact classification of them. A few large and general divisions are all that will be required to illustrate the principles, which I think have a very important bearing upon the question, of the best means of providing for the poor of cities?

A word, however, in the first place, respecting these principles. They are:

1st, That it is God's will that all, as far as they have capacity for labour, should provide for their own support.

2dy, That it is equally God's will, if any cannot from physical disability, or other insuperable difficulties, provide for themselves, that they should be provided for by those whose means enable them to contribute to their relief.

And, 3dly, That while it is the duty of all, whom God has placed in more favoured conditions of life, to minister to the *temporal wants* of their suffering fellow creatures, it is yet never to be forgotten by any who can serve them, that the most effectual means by which we may improve their condition is, *by improving their characters*. In other words, we shall most effectually relieve, and comfort, and bless the poor, by the means by which we recover them from vice, or sin, and advance them in moral and religious principles; in the sentiments and habits of piety and virtue.

In view of these principles, I would divide the poor who ought not to be left at large, from those who ought

not to be sent either to a work-house, or to a house of public charity.

Of these two great divisions, the first comprehends four classes: 1st, the proper subjects of an alms-house; 2d, the proper subjects of a work-house; 3d, orphan children, who, however, are not vicious; 4th, vicious children, who cannot be controlled by parents or guardians.—I am fully aware of the difficulty of making the provision, which I feel persuaded should be made, for these classes of the poor. But we must first distinctly understand what should be done, and then calmly, but resolutely, seek its accomplishment. In proportion as we can separate those who belong to these classes, from the mass of society, we shall greatly facilitate the work of provision for those who will still remain, to a very considerable extent, dependent on private or on public bounty.

First, them, who are the proper subjects of an *Alms-House?*

It will be observed, that I speak of an alms-house, as a distinct institution from a work-house. And it should so far at least be made a distinct institution, that no one, and especially no *man*, who is capable of any labour, should be sent to an alms-house. I would have an alms-house to be, what its name imports that it should be, a refuge for those *who cannot contribute to their own support.* And although I would not send all of this class to such a house, I would have none sent to it, except those who belong to this class. The moral evil is very great, of forming one society, in a large establishment, of those who might be made to support themselves, and of those who are incapable of labour. If an alms-house pauper should regain the strength, with

which he may be enabled to work, and cannot be trusted abroad, he should be transferred to a work-house.

Even in the most prosperous circumstances of a large city, there are not a few in it, who, from age, from bodily debility, from disease, or mental imbecility, cannot provide for their own wants; and who have no friends peculiarly interested in them, who are able, or, if able, are disposed, to support them. Among them may be some, who are virtuous, and proper objects of a strong and affectionate interest. And they should be the objects of such an interest. But no private means that could be employed for their comfort would be so effectual, as well as so economical, as a well regulated alms-house.—To an alms-house, also, should be sent all those who are separated from their families and friends by their vices, and who are incapable of self-support, while yet they are not held by the laws to be criminals. And here, also, should be sent the young children, those, for example, under ten years of age,—of parents, who, by vagrancy or crime, are separated from their families; and orphan children of the poor, for whom no other provision can be made. Colquhoun, in his Police of London, says, that one-fifth of the gross number in a London work-house is composed of "Infant Poor," who, by extreme indigence, or the death of their parents, have been cast upon the public for support. In our House of Industry,* there are now 184 such children. It would be

* Our "House of Industry" is designed to combine in one institution, an Alms-House, and a work-house. The average number of its inmates in summer is about 400; and in winter about 500. It now contains about 500: of these, 184 are children. The children regularly attend school, and, at a suitable age, are

impracticable to provide for so many, beside those who are in our asylums, (and especially for the number of such children who require some specific provision should be made for them,) by any efforts of private benevolence; I would therefore send them to an Alms-House. But in this house, they should be as entirely as possible *separated from its adult inmates.* The city to which they belong should become their parent, and, as far as possible, should discharge a parent's duty towards them.

Secondly. There is another class, who are the proper subjects of *a work-house:* who are they?

I wish to be explicit on this subject, not alone because I think that great pecuniary interests are concerned, but because I am persuaded, that very great moral benefits are in this way only to be secured to very many of the poor, and great evils to be averted

indented to farmers and mechanics in the country. The expenses of the institution, during the past year, with the exception of those incurred for permanent objects, was 13,903 dollars. Its income from the farm, from picking oakum, &c. was 4,432 dollars. The discipline is as good as it can be, under the embarrassment of the impracticability of a proper classification of its subjects. But, to my mind, the evil is most obvious, of a union of those who are, with those who are not, capable of labour. Far less work is in this case done by those, who are able to work, than might otherwise be obtained from them. Beside, public sentiment is not now what it should be, on the subject of sending able-bodied vagrants and beggars to a work-house; and what it would be, if we had a well-regulated work-house, in which this class of paupers could at once be made to support themselves, and in some measure, at least, recovered to virtue, by the very course adopted to save the public from the burden of supporting them.

both from them, and from society. Nay, I think it to be incomparably better for the interests of virtue, and ultimately, even for the pecuniary interests of the public, that a small loss should be occasionally incurred, by keeping those employed, who are dependent on public charity, and who are able to work, than that an alms-house should be, to any one who has strength to labour, a life of easy idleness. I would, therefore, that all who are able to work, and either unable, from inefficiency of character, to provide for themselves, or who, if left at large, *will not* support themselves by their own industry, and who have no friends who will take the charge of them, should be sent to a work-house. If they will go there at the bidding of an overseer of the poor, it is well. If they refuse to go, an authority should be vested somewhere, which can compel them.

A vagrant, however dependent and miserable, and unfit for self-direction, must now be left free, while he chooses to be at large, till he has committed some *crime;* and he is then sent to prison for one, or two, or three, or six months, again to be sent forth, more expert in knavery, but not more inclined to labour, though perhaps physically more capable than before. To me, indeed, it seems most absurd, to talk of the personal rights, and of the constitutionally guarantied freedom of those who not only have nothing, and who, though able, will do nothing, for self-support, but whose example is every day extending corruption to those around them. They are, indeed, sent to prison, when they are found in a state of brutal drunkenness. But instead of this, there should be as well defined an authority to send them to a work-house, even when

they are not intoxicated, or if they do not reduce themselves to the debasement of great intoxication, as there is to send a thief to a jail. *There*, they not only might do much for self-support, and many of them, even more than would be required for their support, but they might, and should, be treated as moral and immortal beings, who are to be instructed, and *reclaimed*, and saved. It is a most palpable injustice, a crying wickedness, to commit a man for intemperance to the same prison, to which men are sent for theft, and forgery, and counterfeiting, and other equally heinous civil offences. Let this principle be adopted, and faithfully acted upon, with a judicious classification of the subjects, and the number will be considerably lessened of the inmates of our prisons. Nor would there then be the attraction there is now in alms-houses, to the idle, the able-bodied beggar. Nor is this all the good that would be so obtained. The demand for charity in this city would then be much less than it now is; the facilities for supplying the wants of the better classes of the poor would be greatly increased—the vice of the city would be greatly reduced in its amount; and, by the Christian discipline of the house, some at least of these poor vagrants, all of whom would otherwise die as miserably as they have lived, would be made to live virtuously, and to die happily.

The third class named, was that of *orphan children who are not vicious.*

These, as far as provision can be so made for them, are the proper subjects for male and female orphan asylums; and where they cannot be so provided for, they should be sent to an Alms-House. With us, occasionally, children are received into these asylums,

who are not orphans. But it is only in cases in which the parent, or parents, either from extreme and hopeless poverty, or by moral incapacity, are unfitted to retain the charge of their children. The children in these asylums are instructed in the free schools of our city; and they have other important advantages over those, who are in our alms-house. But it will be difficult to make this provision for half the poor children in a city, who must be supported either by private, or by public benevolence.

The fourth class, in this division of the poor, are vicious children, who cannot be controlled by their parents, or guardians.

For these children, we have an institution called "The School of Reformation." In this school children are reclaimed from vice, and qualified for usefulness. You have one for the same objects, called "The Refuge." These institutions I consider as second to none, except our public schools and our churches, for the prevention of pauperism, and crime, and misery. They are, however, of so recent a date every where, that much is to be learned by the public, as well concerning the proper subjects for them, as the immense moral benefits to which they may be conducive; and by their directors and superintendants, respecting the true mode of conducting them. I would, however, lay it down as a principle, that every boy and every girl, under fifteen or sixteen years of age, who can neither be kept at school, nor at any regular and useful employment, and who is beyond parental control, who has begun to be a nuisance, and who, if left to go on, must and will fall into crime, should, if possible, before the guilt of crime has been incurred, be sent to this Refuge

or School. And there let them be committed to the care of those, who, like Mr. Wells, the excellent Superintendant of our School, "have no hesitation in saying, that every boy under the age of fifteen years, and somewhat older, however bad he may have been, CAN BE REFORMED;" and we shall find these schools to be immediate, and great blessings, in the relief and comfort which they will bring to poor and greatly distressed parents. I know how great is this relief, for I have had opportunities of witnessing it. And I have had the happiness, too, of seeing children, whom I have been instrumental in placing there, and who had seemed to be past recovery, restored to virtue and usefulness, and giving unspeakable joy to the hearts of parents, whom they had most deeply distressed by their departures from virtue. In a few years, we shall see the effects of these institutions, in the diminished numbers of our street vagrants, and of the inmates of our prisons. The interest of the whole community should be enlisted in favour of these schools; and a minister of the poor may do much, both to enlighten the public judgment respecting them, and to assist the parents of disobedient children, in securing this provision for their salvation and happiness. These institutions furnish, to my mind, one of the noblest triumphs which our religion has obtained over sin. If established as extensively as they should be, and supported by public favour as they deserve to be, they will be for temporal and spiritual salvation to many ten thousands.

From these let us turn to the second great division which we have made of the poor. I mean to *those who ought not to be sent either to a work-house, or to an alms-house.*

Take from society at large all the classes of the poor who ought to be separated from it, and there will still remain a very large class of those who will be occasionally dependent on charity, and some who will even be wholly dependent on the care and benevolence of others, who yet ought to be aided *at home*. There are virtuous poor, who have seen better days, who have been reduced, if not from affluence, yet from a comfortable competency of the good things of life, to want, and some to great want. There are many also who have been dependent all their lives upon their daily labours, and who have lived respectably, and have been respected by all around them, but by infirmity or age are able to make but little provision, and some of them can make no provision, for the absolute necessaries of existence. And there are others who are always ready to do what they can for their own wants, but who are sometimes taken off from their work by sickness, and sometimes are greatly embarrassed and distressed by a failure of demand for their labours. There are cases, as I have said, and they are numerous, in which mothers are doing all that they can for the education of their children, who yet obtain but little assistance from their husbands, and who must be assisted to feed and clothe their children, and with fuel in the winter, and sometimes even in the payment of their rent, towards whom it would not only be unjust, but also injurious to society, to send them to an alms-house, or to a work-house. All these, and some not as deserving as these, but who are striving for self-support, and on whom moral influences may be successfully exerted at home, should be left principally to *private charity*. This I hold to be a position of great importance. It

is clearly the dictate of the spirit of our religion. And if we can only bring the more favoured classes of society to understand their true interests, in regard to these classes of the poor, which are in truth no other than their Christian duties towards them, there would be no difficulty in providing for every suffering family among us.

Our overseers of the poor are empowered, to a certain extent, to supply the very poor with the necessaries of life, *at their own homes.* The amount thus expended in the year 1828, was 8473 dollars. This is right; but there is still left a great amount of want, which must be met by private charity. The great question on this subject is, how is this charity to be excited, and exercised? Would that I had a voice, or a pen, by which I might rightly affect the public mind on this great question! I should then have done a good, by which my life would indeed have been made a blessing, as well to the rich, as to the poor. But I shall not have laboured in vain, if I can persuade even a few to their duty.

Let me say, then, that my principal dependence for this division of the poor would neither be upon benevolent societies, useful as they are when wisely directed; nor upon the contributions of the city overseers of the poor. Nor, if they would, can they meet, all or nearly all, the strongly pressing, and greatly distressing wants, of very many of the indigent. Nor is it desirable that these agents of others should, even if they could, have the exclusive care of the poor. Those in the more favoured classes of society are indeed but too slow to learn the duties, which grow out of the relation they sustain to the humbler classes of their fellow-crea-

tures, as beings of a common nature with themselves; although, from the exercise of Christian benevolence towards them, they would receive, in their own moral improvement, and in all that will exalt them in the view of God and angels, quite as great a good as they will ever be able to impart. The lesson should indeed be repeated often, and strongly, and with a distinctness not to be misunderstood, from every pulpit, and in every family, that the poor are our fellow immortals; who are to be rescued from their dangers, comforted in their troubles, and relieved in their necessities, not merely by a few agents sent to them as the representatives of the kindly feelings, and the Christian sympathy of their fellow beings around them; but, *by the personal cares and efforts of all, who have the means, and opportunities of doing them good.* Our great want is, and I believe that it is the great want, with respect to the poor, in all the cities in Christendom, not so much of benevolent societies, as of *a more widely diffused spirit of personal interest in the work of improving their condition, by improving their characters.* Awaken this spirit, and bring it into action, and an incalculable sum of vice and misery will be prevented.

The questions arise, what is the good which is thus to be done? and, how are we to qualify ourselves to perform it? To one proposing these inquiries, I would reply, let your first care be for those, who belong to your own house. And never flatter yourself with the delusion, that you are exercising Christian benevolence, when that which you bestow in charity is fairly the property of your creditor. Are you willing, however, to do what you can for others? Begin with your domestics, to whom you not only owe something, but

much more, than the payment of their wages. You may do much to improve their moral and their religious character; and, perhaps, to save some of them from the most terrible ruin.—You have also *beggars*, who come to your houses for food. Do you know who they are, and whether you are doing good, or evil, by what you may there bestow upon them? Or, have you a right to refuse them your kindness, merely because you know not whether they may not abuse it? Or, is it too much to ask of you, to learn of them where they live, and to avail yourself of an hour of leisure to visit them? Or, do you feel too little concern about them, to care who they are, or whether their wants are supplied; or whether they are worthy, or not, of your bounty? Who has made you to differ from these beggars? To whom do you owe all that you have yourself received? And is it too much to ask of you, as a return for God's goodness to yourself, that you will personally acquaint yourself with the condition, and do something for the improvement, of a few of those poor among your fellow creatures? In aiding a poor parent in keeping her children at school; in teaching a filthy family to become cleanly; in exciting an idle family to industry; in providing work for a family, which knows not where to obtain it; or by obtaining a place in the country for a boy, or a girl, who, if left with its parents, would soon fall into vagrancy and vice; or by one or another of many offices of kindness, which will cost but little either of time or money, you may gradually, but greatly advance the virtue and happiness of a family. You may save a poor boy from dishonesty, from intemperance, from a life of guilt and wretchedness; or a poor girl from dishonesty, pollution, and utter ruin.

tures, as beings of a common nature with themselves; although, from the exercise of Christian benevolence towards them, they would receive, in their own moral improvement, and in all that will exalt them in the view of God and angels, quite as great a good as they will ever be able to impart. The lesson should indeed be repeated often, and strongly, and with a distinctness not to be misunderstood, from every pulpit, and in every family, that the poor are our fellow immortals; who are to be rescued from their dangers, comforted in their troubles, and relieved in their necessities, not merely by a few agents sent to them as the representatives of the kindly feelings, and the Christian sympathy of their fellow beings around them; but, *by the personal cares and efforts of all, who have the means, and opportunities of doing them good.* Our great want is, and I believe that it is the great want, with respect to the poor, in all the cities in Christendom, not so much of benevolent societies, as of *a more widely diffused spirit of personal interest in the work of improving their condition, by improving their characters.* Awaken this spirit, and bring it into action, and an incalculable sum of vice and misery will be prevented.

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You may save a poor boy from [redacted]
perance, from a life of guilt and [redacted]
poor girl from dishonesty, [redacted]

And will not one such good obtained, be to you an ample recompense for all the care that you can give to the improvement and happiness of many families? It is a poor excuse for the neglect of this duty, "I have not leisure for it." Look back, at the close of any week, upon the wasted hours of it which you may call to remembrance, and ask yourself,—deliberately, and seriously, I mean,—how you would feel in a review of these hours, if you had given them to faithful endeavours to relieve, and bless some of those, who greatly need your kindness? Or, I will say to you, on the first day of a week, determine that you will find half a dozen hours in it, or at least half an hour in each day in which you will faithfully visit some poor families, for the purpose of doing all the good,—I mean the moral good,—that you shall be able to do in them; and when you are resting yourself from your labours, or are lying upon your pillow, on Saturday night; look back to the hours which have been so spent, and say, if you have suffered in your business by the appropriation you have made of them? Or, have they subtracted any thing from the amount of your happiness? Or, have they spread any gloom over the future, either with respect to this life or the life to come? Or, can you give the leisure of Sunday to a holier employment, than that of thus visiting the poor! Here, my dear sir, is the true ground on which to take our stand, for obtaining the greatest, the most effectual, and the most permanent good, for the poor.

And here I would take my stand, in answering the question, how may we most effectually meet, and resist, that secret and open licentiousness, that profligate violation, not of good morals only, but of decency,

that abandonment of multitudes to vice, and even to the grossest vices, which has too long been considered as an evil, necessarily incidental to large cities; and therefore to be first silently endured,—and then, as it is in some of the cities of the old world, authorized by law; and, even made a source of the public revenue? This false and base doctrine, as low in the sources from which it springs, as the causes are vile which produce and nourish all this evil, ought to be fully exposed,—brought to the light in which it shall be seen in its true character, and consequences. Do you ask me, then, how we may resist, and how we may hope to check this tendency in cities to deep and radical corruption? I reply, that something may be done by wise legal enactments; and much might be done by these means, if the efforts of wise legislators were seconded by a strong accordant moral sentiment in the community. The true difficulty, however, is, that moral sentiment is not strong enough to demand the requisite laws; or, if a few shall demand them, this sentiment is not extensive enough to secure their execution. Let us then fairly meet this difficulty at once, and direct our whole attention to it. Public sentiment must be enlightened on the great topics, of the evils incidental to cities, of the causes of these evils; and of their actual character and influences. Men of intellect, and of moral energy, must feel strongly, that they are responsible for the good which they can do, in enlightening and directing public opinion and judgment; and they must be aroused to a sense of this responsibility. The public newspapers must speak plainly upon these great interests. They must be made the subjects of conversation; and in essays level with common compre-

hension, they must be brought before all our families. The characters of restorateurs, of taverns, and of all places of resort, should be as freely discussed, and as openly talked of, as the most ordinary questions of the day. And a house known to be vile, to be a trap for the young, and a haunt of the abandoned, should be as publicly designated, as a pest house would be in a city. Yes, and all who are known to be supporters of such a house, be they young or old, married or single, the sons of merchants, of mechanics, or of the poor, should be branded by public sentiment as INFAMOUS; and so they will be, when public sentiment shall be as enlightened and as active as it should be. But if a profligate can pass one evening with gamblers, or prostitutes, and be welcomed on the next in the splendid drawing room, and treated as if he were as highly estimated, and perhaps even more so, than are the modest, the virtuous; if it be thought that a young gentleman is indulging in a very natural, and not very reprehensible love of pleasure, who is known to be fond of a fashionable eating house, and sometimes to go to a brothel, while yet, in that which is called good society, he maintains the decencies of life; or, if it be thought not very disreputable to be occasionally intemperate, if general indications are in favour of sobriety; and not a very crying sin to be a seducer, if the victim of his licentiousness has been a child of poverty;—then, law is a dead letter. The contagion will spread. Cities will become more and more sinks of depravity. Fathers and mothers, in increasing numbers, as a city increases in its inhabitants, will have to mourn over their blasted hopes, and our cities, like the worst of those of the old world, will by and by be rotten to the

very heart, and ready for destruction. May God avert from us this awful condition! But, my friend, that he may, we have ourselves something, and much to do in the work. A new interest, I think, is excited on this subject. May it spread and strengthen, till the moral sense of the community, in its collected power, shall make our cities, in purity, and righteousness, models for the cities of the world!

To you, my dear sir, who have dedicated yourself to the office of a minister of the poor, I need only add, that you may, and I doubt not that you will, do much for the virtue and piety, and thus for the best relief and comfort of many hundreds of your suffering fellow creatures. It will be well for you if the affluent shall enable you to contribute something for the supply of the distressing want, which you will sometimes be called to witness. You may also be greatly useful in directing the charity at once of individuals, and of societies. And, if your office shall be rightly appreciated, you will be enabled to connect intelligent and virtuous individuals in the more favoured classes of society, with families of the poor, to whom they may be the best possible benefactors—instruments of their moral redemption. In discharging the duties of your office, you will find much to try, and to depress,—I will not say to discourage, you. But there is no office sustained by man which will give a larger compensation for its cares, and pains, and sorrows. I rejoice in the truly liberal principles, in which its establishment has been begun in your city. You have only to act upon these principles, and the good that will result from your efforts will be certain and great. A ministry exclusively for the poor, by which Christian instruction, and con-

solation, and encouragement, will be carried, as widely as possible, to every habitation of the destitute; by which the poor, as far as it shall be found practicable, shall be persuaded, following their own convictions of duty, to unite themselves with the Christian societies around them; and by which they will obtain a friend, an adviser in all their difficulties; one to aid them in the charge of their children; one to whom they may speak with confidence of all their sufferings, and all their interests; and who will prove himself worthy of this confidence: the establishment of this ministry will be an era in the history of your city. We have now four ministers who are so employed in Boston. God grant that, with you, and with us, this ministry may be as permanent, and an object of as deep interest, as that of our churches! And may you so accomplish your work in it, as to obtain the acceptance and reward of a faithful servant.

Yours, very faithfully,

J. T.

THE END.

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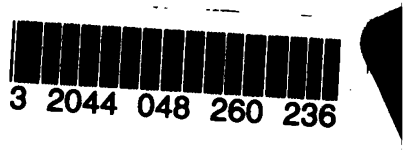

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